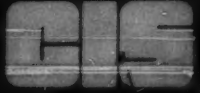
NOTE

This Microfiche meets the quality requirements of the American National Standard for Microfiche of Documents (ANSI PH5.9-1975). However, because of imperfections in the document from which it was made, it contains images that are illegible or difficult to read. The source document for this microfiche is the best copy that could be obtained prior to filming.

Congressional Information Service, Inc.
Washington, D.C.



S. HRG. 99-835

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-NINTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

NOVEMBER 14, 1985

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

57-154 O WASHINGTON : 1986

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402

S381-30

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

RICHARD G. LUGAR, Indiana, *Chairman*

JESSE HELMS, North Carolina	CLAIBORNE PELL, Rhode Island
CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Jr., Maryland	JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr., Delaware
NANCY L. KASSEBAUM, Kansas	PAUL S. SARBANES, Maryland
RUDY BOSCHWITZ, Minnesota	EDWARD ZORINSKY, Nebraska
LARRY PRESSLER, South Dakota	ALAN CRANSTON, California
FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, Alaska	CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, Connecticut
PAUL S. TRIBLE, Jr., Virginia	THOMAS F. EAGLETON, Missouri
DANIEL J. EVANS, Washington	JOHN F. KERRY, Massachusetts

Jeffrey T. Bergner, *Staff Director*
Geryld B. Christianson, *Minority Staff Director*

Subcommittee on European Affairs

LARRY PRESSLER, South Dakota, *Chairman*

CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, Jr., Maryland	JOSEPH R. BIDEN, Jr., Delaware
RUDY BOSCHWITZ, Minnesota	PAUL S. SARBANES, Maryland
PAUL S. TRIBLE, Jr., Virginia	EDWARD ZORINSKY, Nebraska
RICHARD G. LUGAR, Indiana	THOMAS F. EAGLETON, Missouri

CONTENTS

	Page
Statement of:	
Schifter, Richard, Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs	2
Potapov, Victor, U.S.S.R. Division, Voice of America, U.S. Information Agency	40
Vins, Georgi P., secretary abroad for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches in the Soviet Union, accompanied by Mary Smalenberger, interpreter for Georgi Vins, international representative for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union, Inc	107
Hruby, Olga, codirector, religion in Communist-dominated areas, New York, NY, and research center for religion and human rights in closed societies	117
Romerstein, Herbert, codirector of USIA programs to counter Soviet active measures, U.S. Information Agency	134
Weigel, Georgi S., Jr., president, James Madison Foundation, Washington, DC	208
Jessup, David, member, board of directors, Institute on Religion and Democracy	236
Insertion for the record:	
Prepared statement of Richard D. Schifter	8
Repressive policies in Romania since 1975 and 1976	25
Human rights and religious freedom	31
Prepared statement of:	
Boschwitz, Hon. Rudy	35
Potapov, Victor S (with attachments)	45
Photo of:	
Pastor Nikolai Baturin	109
Pastor Nikolai Boiko	110
Pastor Dmitre Minyakov	110
Prepared statement of:	
Georgi P. Vins along with responses to questions asked	112
Olga Hruby along with responses to questions asked	120
League of militant atheists of the Soviet Union	135
Antireligious postcard	138
Russian Orthodox Church and the war against Fascism	140
Speech of Patriarch Pimen of the Soviet Union	143
Conference in defense of peace of all churches and religious associations in the U.S.S.R.	145
Documents of the sixth all-Christian peace assembly, Prague, July 2-9, 1985	153
Sixth all Christian peace assembly (press release)	161
"The Dilemmas of a Reconciler" (1963 pamphlet)	164
"Christian Peace Conference":	
(1981 pamphlet)	168
(1961 document)	171
(1974 document)	175
Communique issued in Prague, October 1983	181
"Liberation and Détente" (1977 document)	186
Disarmament—Promoting both peace and justice	188
International round table conference	190
"Christians for Peace and Justice" (1983 pamphlet)	193
Czek ecumenical news	195
Supporting documents of Mr. Romerstein	198
Beyond containment of détente: Pluralizing the Soviet Union, George Weigel	211

Page

Insertion for the record—Continued
"Down From the Mount," Wall Street Journal, August 12, 1983 217
CAREE communicator 219
Jews in the U.S.A. through the eyes of the Americans 232
Prepared statement of David Jessup 240

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1985

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met at 9:35 a.m., in room SD–419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Larry Pressler (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Boschwitz, Pressler, Trible, Pell, Sarbanes, and Cranston.

Senator PRESSLER. I will call this meeting to order.

I have a brief statement and so does Senator Cranston, so we will move right along.

Welcome to the European Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Today we will be holding a hearing on religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain, its aims and effects.

We are fortunate to have nine excellent witnesses with us today as well as over 40 representatives of organizations interested in this important issue.

Before I introduce our first witness, let me explain what we hope to achieve in this hearing.

As most of you know, during the past 2 years, the Congress has had nine hearings on the issue of religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain. Two of these studies were undertaken by the Foreign Relations Committee itself.

Several of my colleagues here on the committee have taken a particular interest in this subject and have helped develop an impressive body of testimony detailing the persecution of many religious bodies and individuals.

I would commend Senator Pell for the inspiration his committee investigations were to us while we planned these hearings. Several of our esteemed colleagues on the committee have also made an important contribution in offering legislation to help remedy the situation.

Our effort today builds upon this impressive effort.

THE PURPOSE OF THE HEARING

The purpose of this hearing is go beyond the excellent body of impressive testimony collected by congressional inquiries in the past, and investigate Soviet aims inherent in their policy of reli-

gious persecution. Moreover, unlike many hearings held in the past, which have tended to focus on the Soviet Union and on the plight of Soviet Jewry, this hearing will broaden the investigation into Eastern Europe as well. In addition, the persecution of Christians and Muslims will also be discussed, as well as the plight of ethnic and religious minorities.

Our first panel will concentrate on U.S. policy and a history of Soviet policy. We will pursue an historical discussion of the evolution of Soviet policy toward religion, its extension to Eastern Europe, its administration and adjustments in Soviet strategy based on Western criticism. We will also discuss the Western response as it has evolved, particularly that of the United States.

Before we delve into the historical antecedents of Soviet policy, however, we are fortunate to receive testimony from Ambassador Richard Schifter, the Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs in the U.S. Department of State.

Richard Schifter is a partner in the Washington law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson. He joined the firm shortly after his graduation from law school in 1951. During 1984 to 1985, Ambassador Schifter served as Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council of the United Nations. In 1981 and 1982, he was an Alternate U.S. Representative on the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Since 1983, Ambassador Schifter has served as U.S. Representative on that body.

Ambassador Schifter was born in Vienna in 1923, and came to the United States in 1938. He graduated summa cum laude from the College of the City of New York in 1943, and received his LL.B. from Yale in 1951.

We welcome you, Ambassador Schifter, and we look forward to your statement.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD SCHIFTER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BUREAU OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I ought to make clear that under the laws of the United States, I have resigned from my law firm and am a full-time employee of the Government of the United States.

Mr. Chairman, in recent years, particularly in light of Jeane Kirkpatrick's well-known article in "Commentary," there has been a good deal of discussion of the dichotomy between totalitarianism and authoritarianism. The question has been posed whether the differences between those two forms of dictatorial rule are real or merely imagined.

TREATMENT OF RELIGION UNDER TOTALITARIAN VERSUS AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

What I want to suggest to you in this statement is that there are clear differences and that the way in which a government deals with religion is as good a litmus test as any in telling the difference between an authoritarian and a totalitarian government.

An authoritarian government will, generally speaking, permit a purely religious organization to function without interference or might occasionally spar with it, particularly if the governmental authorities believe that the religious organization is seeking to encroach on what the ruling group considers to be the domain of the government.

A totalitarian government, by contrast, cannot tolerate a situation in which it lives side by side with any kind of independent association of its citizens, be it religious or secular. It will try to destroy them or take them over, or, if it can do neither, it will try to control their every activity.

What a totalitarian system simply cannot accept are private organizations of citizens which are beyond its ability to manipulate.

When we examine the situation of religion in Eastern Europe today, that is, in countries which profess to be adherents of the Marxist-Leninist approach to government, we need to keep in mind that they started out with a firm ideological commitment to atheism and, therefore, with a policy to root out religious belief.

Today, in Eastern Europe, there is one country which is so totally committed to Leninist ideology that it has, in fact, outlawed religion. It is Albania, the country in which the practice of religion in any form constitutes a crime.

The commitment to atheism on which Albania has followed through with the utmost consistency was a commitment to which the founders of the Soviet state adhered as well. The advocacy of atheism has been established Soviet policy since the days of Lenin.

STATE CONTROL OF RELIGION IN THE U.S.S.R.

What the leaders of the Soviet state discovered in due course was that religion could not be stamped out as easily as they might have thought at the outset. So, in the spirit of the principle that if you cannot beat them, join them, the Soviet Union created as long ago as 1929 a massive system for the bureaucratic control of religion.

The statutory scheme created in the Soviet Union permits the conducting of religious activities by groups only if they are registered as religious associations. Religious associations, in turn, are rigidly controlled through a body of rules enforced by a state bureaucracy, which is headed by the so-called Council of Religious Affairs.

Working under the Council of Religious Affairs are regional commissioners, with whom religious associations must register. A commissioner can refuse to register an association or can cancel a registration without citing any reason. Through this process, the commissioner can also regulate the selection of clergymen to any church position.

Furthermore, as all real property, including ancient church buildings, is owned by the local units of government, the religious association must sign an agreement with these local units of government before it can obtain use of a building. That agreement will often add to the limitations placed upon the association by the national religious-control bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the regulators will authorize liturgical services at designated hours in designated places, namely the officially

authorized places of worship. All other religious activities are forbidden. Thus, all persons whose personal commitments or the rules of whose religion call for religious activity and experience beyond those sanctioned by the bureaucracy must forego the demands of their conscience or risk punishment at the hands of the state.

Moreover, in a special effort to prevent parents from passing on their religious beliefs to their children, membership in religious associations is denied to persons under the age of 18. Every effort is made to discourage all forms of religious instruction.

Religious associations are, thus, left between a rock and a hard place. If they do not register, yet still engage in religious practices, they find themselves in violation of the law. If they register, they subject themselves to government control, particularly as to the selection of their clergy, and submit to a large body of rules imposed upon them from the outside.

Violation of the rules can lead to loss of registered status and thus, once, again, to violation of the law. It is clearly a Catch-22 situation.

It is worthy of note that, as the bureaucracy is evidently kept busy performing functions other than the enforcement of the laws on the subject of religion, a special volunteer spy system has been created for that purpose.

Neighborhood committees, which are called public commissions for control over observance of the law about religious cults, watch their neighbors and report their violations of the laws on religion to the appropriate authorities.

This, then, is the system that serves to deprive those persons of religious freedom who look to their religious associations to provide them with more than a government-approved ritual ceremony in a government-approved location during a government-approved time period.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF PERSECUTION

Evangelical Christians, Seventh Day Adventists, Mennonites, Baptists, and Pentecostals, many of whom have refused to register, are most often the victims of government persecution of religious activists. Roman Catholic priests in Lithuania have in recent years also more and more frequently been severely punished for engaging in religious activities and for the violations of government edicts. So have Jews, whose legally authorized synagogues have been reduced to 50 throughout the Soviet Union, and whose training institutions for rabbinical students have long been closed.

The objective of present Soviet policy toward religion is reasonably clear. To the extent to which religious observance constitutes an individual act, even if carried out in the presence of others, it is permitted. To the extent to which it involves interaction among fellow believers and unity of purpose of a group, the state seeks to prevent it. Yet, to the chagrin of the authorities, interest in religion on the part of the Soviet people has been on the increase rather than on the decline. Violations of the law are thus too numerous for these laws to be enforced rigidly. Instead, as students of the subject have noted, a good many minor violations will simply be ignored. However, when the KGB's patience runs out, its agents

clamp down hard, and the person guilty of the illegal practice of religion is sent off for years in a prison, a forced labor colony, or into exile, most often on a trumped-up charge. And, in those cases in which it appears inconvenient to invoke what they call socialist legality through a criminal proceeding, the luckless religious practitioner is sent off to an institution for the mentally ill.

Thus, in today's Soviet Union, religious associations run afoul of the government whenever they try to assert any independence or when believers want to engage in religious activities beyond those authorized by the Soviet Union's religious control bureaucracy.

Some church organizations have accepted the government's decision, as it were, to join them. They limit their activities to those that the government permits and, in return for being granted permission to function and to perform authorized religious rituals, dutifully express the government line on issues of foreign policy when called upon to do so at international gatherings.

It is said that KGB agents may even have infiltrated the clergy and hear confessions.

Aside from repressive measures against religious groups which seek to exercise religious independence, the Soviet Union has also adopted repressive measures against churches associated with particular brands of disapproved nationalism. In its efforts to suppress Ukrainian nationalist tendencies, the Soviet Union close to 40 years ago outlawed the Uniate Church of the Ukraine, an Eastern Rite Catholic Church. For similar reasons, the Soviet Government has also acted harshly against the Roman Catholic Churches of Lithuania and Latvia.

PERSECUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE: BULGARIA

The Soviet approach to religion is not copied by all the countries that are members of the Warsaw Pact. Among these European states, we see policies ranging from the efforts of the Bulgarian Government to destroy entirely the identity of its Islamic population of Turkish ethnic descent to the approach followed by Poland, which has decided to live with the fact that it cannot destroy the independence of the Polish Roman Catholic Church.

The most recent large-scale, and violent, attack on religion in Eastern Europe began last fall with Bulgaria's campaign to eradicate the identity of the country's ethnic Turkish population. About 1 million people, approximately 10 percent of the entire population, were suddenly told that they were not in fact Turks, that they had to change their names to Slavic names, stop speaking Turkish, stop wearing Turkish clothing, and stop performing most Islamic religious customs. Many who resisted were killed and many more imprisoned. Most mosques in the country have been closed, converted to museums, or turned into various types of secular structures.

Few Moslem religious leaders remain, and the training of new ones effectively has been halted.

Religious rites essential to the conduct of Islam have been banned, including circumcision, marriage, and funeral rites. The pilgrimage to Mecca, has in practice, ceased to occur.

Islam is not alone among religions in Bulgaria facing repression.

The Orthodox Church, the church of the majority of the population, receives some favored treatment from the state due to its historic role in helping to preserve Bulgarian nationalism and culture. At the same time, though, it is allowed only a very narrow range of activities and must subordinate itself completely to the state.

The Roman Catholic and several small Protestant churches lead tenuous existences, suffering constant harassment and enjoying few legal rights.

PERSECUTION IN ROMANIA

Romania presents perhaps the most mixed and complex religious situation in Eastern Europe.

While encountering persistent, often ruthless, persecution by the state, various religious groups in Romania have, in recent years, undergone tremendous growth. Many observers have pointed to the fact that Romania seems to be experiencing a religious revival that is making the open, fervent practice of religion in that country second only to that of Poland in Eastern Europe.

Because of the scale of this revival and, perhaps, due to the need for a safety valve in a society suffering from serious economic difficulties, the authorities have in practice allowed a degree of open religious activity far beyond that of some of their neighbors.

Unfortunately, this acquiescence in considerable religious activity has gone hand in hand with spasmodic measures of ruthless repression. Charismatic religious leaders have been harassed, imprisoned, or forced to emigrate. There are reports that some have been killed. Churches with rapidly growing congregations have had great difficulty in gaining permission to enlarge their facilities, and a number of churches which have attempted to proceed with enlargements on their own have had their buildings torn down by the authorities.

The various churches face severe restrictions on the printing or import of religious materials, including Bibles, and there is strong evidence that some Bibles have actually been pulped for the manufacture of toilet paper.

Just as in Bulgaria, due in part to the Orthodox Church's historic role in preserving Romanian identity, and to the fact that the overwhelming majority of believers in Romania are Orthodox, the Romanian Government does accord that church a somewhat favored position among religious groups. The government has, at times, argued the need to protect the status of the Orthodox Church as grounds for restricting the proliferation of other Christian groups. When criticized for not allowing churches, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, to function legally, Romanian authorities sometimes comment that 14 sects—the number that they authorize—are enough: "We don't need any more."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Legally, the situation in Czechoslovakia very much resembles conditions in the Soviet Union.

In Czechoslovakia, as in the Soviet Union, a religious control bureaucracy tries to monitor and regulate the activities of the churches.

Priests who sponsor religious activities outside the legally authorized framework are punished in Czechoslovakia as they are punished in the Soviet Union, in both situations for violating the laws and regulations governing the exercise of religion.

What can be said for Czechoslovakia on this point is that the sentences meted out to violators of these laws and regulations are significantly shorter than those meted out in the Soviet Union.

In Czechoslovakia, I would say typical sentences run to about 2 or 2½ years. In the Soviet Union, once they get you, it is 8 to 10 years, maybe longer.

The GDR, East Germany, has moved significantly toward coexistence with independent churches. The same has for some time been true in Hungary, and, as I have already said, Poland acquiesces in the existence of a totally independent church.

WHAT CAN WE DO

There remains the question of what we can do about all that I have described. The answer in this situation, as in the case of other human rights problems, is to shine a spotlight on the violators. As long as these repressive governments can continue their practices without the world at large paying attention, they will do so. Only if a great deal of public attention is focused on these activities is there a chance that they might modify that.

Hearings such as this one serve that purpose. So do the speeches that we deliver on the subject of religious intolerance at international gatherings, such as meetings of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, and at meetings held under the provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

In each case, it is, of course, also important that the information contained in testimony or in speeches be picked up by the media.

I, for one, sincerely hope that attention will be paid to what it is that is being said at this hearing. The issues deserve such attention.

Thank you.

[Ambassador Schifter's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD D. SCHIFTER

Mr. Chairman:

In recent years, particularly in light of Jeane Kirkpatrick's well-known article in Commentary, there has been a good deal of discussion of the dichotomy between totalitarianism and authoritarianism. The question has been posed whether the differences between those two forms of dictatorial rule are real or merely imagined. What I want to suggest to you in this statement is that there are clear differences and that the way in which a government deals with religion is as good a litmus test as any in telling the difference between an authoritarian and a totalitarian government.

An authoritarian government will, generally speaking, permit a purely religious organization to function without interference or might occasionally spar with it, particularly if the governmental authorities believe that the religious organization is seeking to encroach on what the ruling group considers to be the domain of the government. A totalitarian government, by contrast, cannot tolerate a situation in which it lives side by side with any kind of independent association of its citizens, be it religious or secular. It will try to destroy them or take them over, or, if it can do neither, it will try to control their every activity. What a totalitarian system simply cannot accept are private organizations of citizens which are beyond its ability to manipulate.

When we examine the situation of religion in Eastern Europe today, that is, in countries which profess to be adherents of the Marxist-Leninist approach to government, we need to keep in mind that they started out with a firm ideological commitment to atheism and, therefore, with a policy to root out religious belief. Today, in Eastern Europe, there is one country which is so totally committed to Leninist ideology that it has, in fact, outlawed religion. It is Albania, the country in which the practice of religion, in any form, constitutes a crime.

The commitment to atheism on which Albania has followed through with the utmost consistency was a commitment to which the founders of the Soviet state adhered as well. The advocacy of atheism has been established Soviet policy since the days of Lenin.

What the leaders of the Soviet state discovered in due course was that religion could not be stamped out as easily as they might have thought at the outset. So, in the spirit of the principle that "if you can not beat them, join them," the Soviet Union created as long ago as 1929 a massive system for the bureaucratic control of religion.

The statutory scheme created in the Soviet Union permits the conducting of religious activities by groups only if they are registered as "religious associations." Religious associations,

in turn, are rigidly controlled through a body of rules enforced by a state bureaucracy which is headed by the so-called Council of Religious Affairs. Working under the Council of Religious Affairs are regional commissioners, with whom religious associations must register. A commissioner can refuse to register an association or can cancel a registration without citing any reason. Through this process, the commissioner can also regulate the selection of clergymen to any church position.

Furthermore, as all real property, including ancient church buildings, is owned by the local units of government, the religious association must sign an agreement with these local units of government before it can obtain use of a building. That agreement will often add to the limitations placed upon the association by the national religious-control bureaucracy.

Generally speaking, the regulators will authorize liturgical services at designated hours in designated places, namely the officially authorized places of worship. All other religious activities are forbidden. Thus, all persons whose personal commitments or the rules of whose religion call for religious activity and experience beyond those sanctioned by the bureaucracy must forego the demands of their conscience or risk punishment at the hands of the state. Moreover, in a special effort to prevent parents from passing on their religious beliefs to their children,

membership in religious associations is denied to persons under the age of 18. Every effort is made to discourage all forms of religious instruction.

Religious associations are thus left between a rock and a hard place. If they do not register, yet still engage in religious practices, they find themselves in violation of the law. If they register, they subject themselves to government control, particularly as to the selection of their clergy, and submit to a large body of rules imposed upon them from the outside. Violation of the rules can lead to loss of registered status, and thus, once again to violation of the law. It is clearly a "Catch-22" situation.

It is worthy of note that as the police is evidently kept busy performing functions other than the enforcement of the laws of the subject of religion, a special volunteer spy system has been created for that purpose. Neighborhood committees which are called "public commissions for control over observance of the laws about religious cults" watch their neighbors and report their violations of the laws on religion to the appropriate authorities.

This, then, is the system which serves to deprive those persons of religious freedom who look to their religious associations to provide them with more than a government-approved

ritual ceremony in a government-approved location during a government-approved time period. Evangelical Christians, Seventh Day Adventists, Mennonites, Baptists, and Pentecostals, many of whom have refused to register, are most often the victims of government persecution of religious activists. Roman Catholic priests in Lithuania have in recent years also more and more frequently been severely punished for engaging in religious activities and for the violations of government edicts. So have Jews, whose legally authorized synagogues have been reduced to fifty throughout the Soviet Union, and whose training institutions for rabbinical students have long been closed.

The objective of present Soviet policy toward religion is reasonably clear. To the extent to which religious observance constitutes an individual act, even if carried out in the presence of others, it is permitted. To the extent to which it involves interaction among fellow-believers and unity of purpose of a group, the State seeks to prevent it. Yet, to the chagrin of the authorities, interest in religion on the part of the Soviet people has been on the increase rather than on the decline. Violations of the law are thus too numerous for these laws to be enforced rigidly. Instead, as students of the subject have noted, a good many minor violations will simply be ignored. But when the KGB's patience runs out, its agents clamp down hard and the person guilty of the illegal practice of religion is sent off for years

in a prison, a forced-labor colony or into exile, most often on a trumped-up charge. And in those cases in which it appears inconvenient to invoke "socialist legality" through a criminal proceeding, the luckless religious practitioner is sent off to an institution for the mentally ill.

Thus, in today's Soviet Union, religious associations run afoul of the government whenever they try to assert any independence or when believers want to engage in religious activities beyond those authorized by the Soviet Union's religious-control bureaucracy.

Some church organizations have accepted the government's decision, as it were, to "join" them. They limit their activities to those that the government permits and, in return for being granted permission to function and to perform authorized religious rituals, dutifully express the government line on issues of foreign policy when called upon to do so at international gatherings. It is said that KGB agents may even have infiltrated the clergy and hear confessions.

Aside from repressive measures against religious groups which seek to exercise religious independence, the Soviet Union has also adopted repressive measures against churches associated with particular brands of disapproved nationalism. In its efforts to

suppress Ukrainian nationalist tendencies, the Soviet Union close to forty years ago outlawed the Uniate Church of the Ukraine, an Eastern Rite Catholic Church. For similar reasons, the Soviet Government has also acted harshly against the Roman Catholic Churches of Lithuania and Latvia.

The Soviet approach to religion is not copied by all the countries which are members of the Warsaw Pact. Among these European states, we see policies ranging from the efforts of the Bulgarian Government to destroy entirely the identity of its Islamic population of Turkish ethnic descent to the approach followed by Poland, which has decided to live with the fact that it cannot destroy the independence of the Polish Roman Catholic church.

The most recent large-scale, and violent, attack on religion in Eastern Europe began last fall with Bulgaria's campaign to eradicate the identity of the country's ethnic Turkish population. About 1 million people, approximately ten percent of the entire population, were suddenly told that they were not in fact Turks, that they had to change their names to Slavic names, stop speaking Turkish, stop wearing Turkish clothing, and stop performing most Islamic religious customs. Many who resisted were killed, and many more imprisoned. Most mosques in the country have been closed, converted to museums, or turned into various

types of secular structures. Few Moslem religious leaders remain, and the training of new ones has effectively been halted. Religious rites essential to the conduct of Islam have been banned, including circumcision, marriage, and funeral rites. The pilgrimage to Mecca has in practice ceased to occur.

Islam is not alone among religions in Bulgaria facing repression. The Orthodox Church, the Church of the majority of the population, receives some favored treatment from the state due to its historic roll in helping preserve Bulgarian nationalism and culture. At the same time, though, it is allowed only a very narrow range of activities, and must subordinate itself completely to the state. The Roman Catholic and several small Protestant churches lead tenuous existences, suffering constant harassment and enjoying few legal rights.

Romania presents perhaps the most mixed and complex religious situation in Eastern Europe. While encountering persistent, often ruthless persecution by the state, various religious groups in Romania have in recent years undergone tremendous growth. Many observers have pointed to the fact that Romania seems to be experiencing a religious revival which is making the open, fervent practice of religion in that country second only to that of Poland in Eastern Europe. Because of the scale of this revival, and, perhaps, due to the need for a safety valve in a society suffering

from serious economic difficulties, the authorities have in practice allowed a degree of open religious activity far beyond that of some of their neighbors.

Unfortunately, this acquiescence in considerable religious activity has gone hand in hand with spasmodic measures of ruthless repression. Charismatic religious leaders have been harassed, imprisoned, or forced to emigrate. There are reports that some have been killed. Churches with rapidly growing congregations have had great difficulty in gaining permission to enlarge their facilities, and a number of churches which have attempted to proceed with enlargements on their own have had their buildings torn down by the authorities. The various churches face severe restrictions on the printing or import of religious materials, including Bibles, and there is strong evidence that some Bibles have actually been pulped for the manufacture of toilet paper.

Just as in Bulgaria, due in part to the Orthodox Church's historic role in preserving Romanian identity, and to the fact that the overwhelming majority of believers in Romania are Orthodox, the Romanian Government does accord that Church a somewhat favored position among religious groups. The Government has, at times, argued the need to protect the status of the Orthodox Church as grounds for restricting the proliferation of

other Christian groups. When criticized for not allowing churches such as the Jehovah's Witnesses to functon legally, Romanian authorities sometimes comment that "14 sects are enough. We don't need any more."

Legally, the situation in Czechoslovakia very much resembles conditions in the Soviet Union. In Czechoslovakia, as in the Soviet Union, a religious-control bureaucracy tries to monitor and regulate the activities of the churches. Priests who sponsor religious activities outside the legally-authorized framework are punished in Czechoslovakia as they are punished in the Soviet Union, in both situations for violating the laws and regulations governing the exercise of religion. What can be said for Czechoslovakia on this point is that the sentences meted out to violators of these laws and regulations are significantly shorter than those meted out in the Soviet Union.

The GDR, East Germany, has moved significantly toward co-existence with independent churches. The same has, for some time, been true of Hungary and, as I have already said, Poland acquiesces in the existence of a totally independent church.

There remains the question of what we can do about all that I have described. The answer in this situation, as in the case of other human rights problems is to shine a spotlight on the

violators. As long as these repressive governments can continue their practices without the world at large paying attention, they will do so. Only if a great deal of public attention is focused on these activities is there a chance that they might modify them. Hearings such as this one serve that purpose. So do the speeches that we deliver on the subject of religious intolerance at international gatherings, such as meetings of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, and at meetings held under the provisions of the Helsinki Accords. In each case it is, of course, also important that the information contained in testimony or in speeches be picked up by the media.

I, for one, sincerely hope that attention will be paid to what it is that is being said at this hearing. The issues deserves such attention.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much for that excellent statement. I think, from a historical point of view, that that is one of the best overviews of the problem that I have heard.

Let me ask you some questions and let us proceed on the 10-minute rule.

First, Ambassador Schifter, have there been significant attempts to implement the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords in the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc countries of Eastern Europe? You mentioned that there some differences in human rights performance between various countries in the Warsaw Pact. What has been the impact of the accords on religious liberty in the area generally?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I have to give you a mixed answer.

In the Soviet Union, there has clearly been regression.

Senator PRESSLER. There has been what?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Regression. The situation is worse in 1985 than it was in 1975.

I would say that in some other parts of Eastern Europe there has been progress. There certainly has been progress in Hungary and East Germany, though in Bulgaria, as I pointed out, it went the other way, particularly with regard to the Turks, the ethnic Turks of Bulgaria. There it is not purely a matter of religion. It is a matter of the Bulgarians trying to stamp out a different ethnic group. They are basically trying to make them Bulgarians after they and their ancestors have for hundreds of years been Turks.

Senator PRESSLER. What is the motivation there? Is it a fear of revolt?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Oh, no, not at all. There was never any indication of that.

It is rather strange, if we think about it, that people who profess Leninism turn out to be rabid nationalists who just want to turn the country into an all-Bulgarian country. They do not like to have any ethnic minority.

Senator PRESSLER. They just don't like to have anybody who is beyond their control. Is that right?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Actually, it is a case of old-fashioned nationalism, the kind of thing that you have had in the Balkans before. They just want the country to be all Bulgarian. It seems to me that Communist internationalism goes out the window at that particular point.

Senator PRESSLER. Many have discerned a systematic pattern, notably in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia, of official harassment directed against institutional religion and religious believers. Imprisonment, deportation and exile, internal or abroad, are not uncommon.

The release of Father Georghe Calciu by the Romanian Government after 5 years in prison suggests that sustained pressure from abroad can be helpful.

How best can Americans assist in maintaining contact with those persecuted for religious conscience and in bringing their concerns to diplomats, journalists, and others? In addition, what can the U.S. Government do? In your fine statement you have already said we should keep talking about it and keep religious persecution in the spotlight. Are there other strategies that we can pursue?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. It seems to me that that is basically it. As far as the spotlight aspect of it is concerned, ultimately it depends on the media calling attention to it. Obviously in our country we do not control the media. It is up to us to paint the picture sufficiently graphically for the media to pick up on it.

Senator PRESSLER. There have been many signs of religious renewal in spite of all of the persecution. In fact, there is a great deal of religious vitality in the Communist-dominated states of Eastern Europe, including Albania, where religious activities have been forbidden.

What has caused this phenomenon, and has the phenomenon aggravated the tension between state policy and religious communities?

Has it been evident in the underground church movement as well as in the officially recognized and legal bodies?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Well, what is clear is that communism as it has turned out has not answered the spiritual needs of people. These spiritual needs exist and religious belief satisfies them. Therefore, clearly throughout the entire region they return to religion.

Senator PRESSLER. We have heard a great deal about persecution of Soviet Jewry. Would you comment on the persecution of Christians and Muslims? You have already spoken about the Turkish minority, but would you expand on this question?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. There is a fundamental difference, it seems to me.

The Soviet Union has adopted, as I have indicated in my statement, a scheme for the control of religion and for the outlawing of religious activity beyond the government's reach. This is typically what the Soviet Government is doing with regard to all believers, irrespective of what the belief might be. In view of the fact that the largest number of people in the Soviet Union are Christian, Christians suffer in largest numbers.

The measures against Jews, as has frequently been discussed, are actually more based on discrimination on the grounds of ancestry. In other words, a nonbelieving Jew is discriminated against, too, whereas a nonbelieving Baptist would not be.

Senator PRESSLER. I understand that the *samizdat* has been a powerful vehicle for religious freedom.

Would you comment on the cases of these Latvian prisoners of conscience if you are familiar with them—Javis Rozkalns and Mrs. Lidija Doronina—as examples of the effectiveness of the *samizdat* literature against a repressive state.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. There is no question that in Latvia, Lithuania, and, as I indicated before, the Ukraine, there is a close relationship between religious activity and, as it were, some resurgence of nationalism. In many cases, of course, it is a matter also of using the language of the country, the language that is attempted to be preserved and which the Soviet Union is trying to stamp out.

In the Baltics there is a major program of Russification. Half of the present residents of Latvia are Russians, and there is really an effort, essentially, to accomplish now what Peter the Great may have tried and failed to accomplish, that is, to turn these countries into Russian countries and eliminating, as I say, their Baltic character.

Senator PRESSLER. It is reported that a United States-Soviet cultural exchange agreement is being prepared. Will the United States seek to use such an agreement to improve conditions for those suffering under religious persecution? For example, could the United States ask for the year-round importation of religious books? Could the United States ask for permission for religious scholars to study abroad? Could the United States ask that American religious scholars be allowed to offer lectures on a regular basis in Soviet or East European centers of religious learning?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Let me put it this way. I hear what you say. I will have to see what the agreement provides.

Senator PRESSLER. I might ask about the situation in Poland.

You have described some of the Warsaw Pact countries. In Poland, at least on TV, we see that the church is apparently being used as a vehicle for people who disagree with government policies. They are capable of expressing their dissent by attendance in church.

Is that true? How would you describe religious repression presently in Poland?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I would say that the Polish Government, as I have indicated in my prepared statement, is fully conscious of the powers of the Roman Catholic Church of Poland, and has quite

some time ago made up its mind to try to live with the church rather than fight it.

Senator PRESSLER. In view of the upcoming summit and in view of the fact that a year and a half ago the KGB further accelerated its assaults on Jewish study groups, Orthodox believers, Baptists, Pentacostals, and Jehovah's Witnesses, among others, and in view of what you have said, what should the President's role in the upcoming summit be on this subject?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I am quite sure that the President will make clear our concerns about human rights violations in the Soviet Union. I want to say that the President's statements in Geneva really have to be seen in the total context of the numerous protests which we have delivered over a period of time. He is going to summarize. His statement will essentially be a culmination of our past protests.

We have made it very clear as to what we think of what they are doing.

Senator PRESSLER. My 10 minutes are up. Paul, please go ahead.

Senator TRIBLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Senator Boschwitz, my senior colleague, for deferring to me.

Tell me about Romania for a moment.

You have addressed the plight of Christian believers in your statement. What about the Jewish community in Romania?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. The Jewish community is one of those that is authorized to function. There are 14 religious groups that are authorized to exist. The Jewish community is one of them. It is a shrinking community, as distinct from the others which are expanding. The Christian churches are expanding and therefore frequently run into the problem that I have adverted to, of needing additional facilities. The Romanian Jewish community is shrinking. It consists largely of old people.

Senator TRIBLE. I am more interested in the relationship of the state to those religious believers.

Are they, too, persecuted as Christian groups are persecuted by the state?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. They don't run into the same kind of problems, as I have mentioned before, simply because they are one of the authorized groups, as distinct from a good many that are not authorized—they are among the 14 authorized groups—and because a good many of the problems that the Christian groups run into stem from the fact that they are expanding, whereas this community is shrinking.

Senator TRIBLE. Let me note for the record that the Chairman has talked about religious revival in these countries. I simply want to note for the record that history and human experience show that spiritual belief flourishes most in times of adversity.

Certainly the repressive policies of these Eastern European countries ought not to be given any credit for that phenomenon. Rather, in my view, it is the irresistible expression of the human heart in the face of adversity. We have to use our moral, political, and economic force to change those policies because when human freedom is diminished in any part of this globe, our own freedom is somewhat lost.

To that end, let me read from a recent Washington Post article of November 1, 1985, which spells out in some detail your rather broad statements about the behavior of the Romanian Government.

I quote:

> In austere, ruthlessly regimented Romania, even the quiet reshaping of a chapel on a disheveled back street is a glaring exception to state controls over religion and its practice. As a result, helmeted militia and demolition crews arrived at Holy Trinity one Saturday morning this summer and torn down its new roof and annex, prohibited its volunteer builders from putting up so much as a canvas to cover the gaping hole left in its walls. The church's pastor was fined heavily, ordered to leave Bucharest, and the church's two deacons were fired from their state jobs after being detained and beaten by police.

That fleshes out a bit your broad statements. I think it shows the detail of the repressive policies of that state.

Let me ask you this question.

Romania restricts emigration, denies religious freedom, suppresses free speech. Moreover, Romania's voting record in the United Nations is more anti-American than the Soviet Union.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. [Nods negatively.]

Senator TRIBLE. That is not the case?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. That is not the case.

Senator TRIBLE. Well, then, I will rest with the first three parts of my premise. They are both terrible. It may not be worse, but it is pretty bad, and it is anti-American, is it not?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. If you take a look at——

Senator TRIBLE. Well, let me frame my question again, and then we will talk about the U.N. voting.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. You are right on the first three points, Senator.

Senator TRIBLE. All right, then. I think that will state my premise completely enough.

Romania is a country that we will both agree restricts emigration, denies religious freedom and suppresses free speech. Why should a country like Romania be accorded most-favored-nation trading status?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, I want to tell you that I did not come here prepared to deal with that question. When the matter was before the Congress earlier this year, I believe full statements were presented that deal comprehensively with all aspects of that question.

Senator TRIBLE. Well, then, let me ask you for your personal and professional opinion and not that of the State Department, for which you work.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. In all matters of foreign policy, we must weigh a whole series of considerations, human rights being one of them, other aspects of foreign policy being among them. For example, as you indicated, or as we just discussed, there is a difference between Romanian behavior at the United Nations and the behavior of other Warsaw Pact countries, including even Hungary. There are situations in which Romania votes better than Yugoslavia.

Senator TRIBLE. Well, let the record reflect that the witness has chosen not to answer my question, and now let us move on.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, it is not that I am not trying to answer your question. I am answering it. What I am saying, Sena-

tor, is the following: as far as most-favored-nation status is concerned, it is the responsibility of the executive branch of Government of the United States to weigh a whole series of factors, the human rights factor being an important and significant one. Other aspects of foreign policy, including our geopolitical concerns, must necessarily be among them.

Senator TRIBLE. Good.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. We have to weigh all of that.

Senator TRIBLE. Give me, then, if you will, your reasons why we should accord special status to Romania.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, as I told you before, I did not come here today prepared to deal with that question. I am certainly ready to prepare myself on this question and come back to you on that.

Senator TRIBLE. All right, let the record then reflect that the witness is unable or unwilling to suggest any good reason why we should——

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Unprepared.

Senator TRIBLE. Unprepared—that the witness is unprepared today to answer the question——

Ambassador SCHIFTER. That is a fair statement.

Senator TRIBLE [continuing]. And is unable to set forth on the record any good reason why the United States should accord most-favored-nation status to Romania.

I will give other representatives of our State Department ample opportunity to answer that question. I really make that inquiry in absolute good faith. I focus on Romania's human rights experience and I find that it is wanting. The Romanians deny the essential freedoms that America stands for and believes in. It seems to me that that, then, argues for a fuller and more complete reassessment of most-favored-nation trading status.

So, I will pursue that and I thank you for your answers here today, for your responses.

Do I still have some time?

Senator PRESSLER. Yes.

Senator TRIBLE. I did not hear your statement in its complete form and I apologize for that. I was in a markup in the Commerce Committee. But for that I would have been here because this is a matter of some special interest to me.

How would you evaluate religious rights generally in the Eastern European countries?

Give me just a very brief summary of how you stack these countries up. Let me frame the question in this fashion.

What are the worst countries?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, my statement did indeed cover that, and let me just review it briefly.

As I indicated before, the worst from every point of view happens to be Albania, a small country. I would say that the Soviet Union would be next. Then you have Bulgaria, Romania—well, after the Soviet Union, put down Czechoslovakia. Then Bulgaria, Romania, and then over at the other end I suppose you will have Hungary, first let's say East Germany and then Hungary and then Poland.

Senator TRIBLE. Where would Poland stack up in that list?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Poland would be the best there.

Senator TRIBLE. The best.

Of those countries, do you know to which countries we accord most-favored-nation trading status to?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Romania is the only one, as far as I know.

Senator TRIBLE. Romania is the only one of those countries?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. So far as I know. I'm sorry, Romania and Hungary.

Senator TRIBLE. We accord most-favored-nation status to Romania and Hungary.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Yes.

Senator TRIBLE. I understand that you are here today as a human rights and religious expert.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. If you talk about human rights generally, I am prepared to speak on that subject, too. I gave you the rank order on the basis of the treatment of religion only.

Senator TRIBLE. I appreciate that.

Now let me focus—Oh, I am out of time.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. You go right ahead.

Senator TRIBLE. Senator Boschwitz said that I may infringe on his time, Mr. Chairman, if you wouldn't mind.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I will yield.

Senator PRESSLER. Absolutely. Continue.

Senator TRIBLE. Focusing on Romania, I would invite you to review the human rights situation more broadly, if you would. You may well have touched on that in your statement, and if so, I apologize.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Broader human rights, beyond religion?

Senator TRIBLE. Yes, sir.

I had mentioned a couple of problems that have been identified, but I would like you to speak in greater detail about the whole spectrum of human rights in Romania.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, there is no doubt that Romania is a repressive, dictatorial state. I have spoken on that subject publicly and in meetings with Romanians I have made it very clear as to what our concerns are.

Senator TRIBLE. Would you itemize for me the problems as you see them? What are the policies on which you base that judgment?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. There is a secret police in operation in Romania. There is no freedom of speech, no freedom of the press, no freedom of assembly.

Senator TRIBLE. Well, that is a good start.

What else?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. There are no free trade unions. That could be something you were looking for. It is a repressive, dictatorial state, no question about that.

Senator TRIBLE. How long have we accorded this repressive, dictatorial state most-favored-nation trading status, would you know?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, I started my job on November first of this year. I am sorry that I am not familiar with the history of most-favored-nation treatment of Romania.

Senator TRIBLE. I am sorry that I am so preoccupied with that, but I do think it is a part of this whole equation. Would any of your backup crew know?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Let me explain that they are from the Human Rights Bureau. Most-favored-nation status is being handled by some other people.

Senator TRIBLE. That's all right. I just assume that State Department officials have some general acquaintance with issues.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I am told that it goes back to 1975 or 1976.

Senator TRIBLE. To 1975 or 1976.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Yes.

If you take a look at the annual report that the Human Rights Bureau issues, you will find that we treat fully all aspects of the problem that you have adverted to. It is all in the record.

Senator TRIBLE. I will read that with substantial interest.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. May I just add that one of the problems about which we have also expressed concern is the matter of the cultural rights of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania.

Senator TRIBLE. Let me ask you just one more question, and I thank my colleagues for their patience and I thank you for responding as best you can under these circumstances.

This most-favored-nation status has been accorded Romania since 1975 or 1976. Are you in a position to evaluate their repressive policies since 1975 and 1976? Has there been any improvement? Have these policies been stable and unchanged? Have they worsened in their impact on people's lives? Are you in a position to judge that question?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Not in a good position. But, if I may say so, a general impression of mine is that in Romania, as elsewhere in the smaller Warsaw Pact countries, the situation has gotten gradually better, as distinct from the Soviet Union, where it has gotten worse.

Senator TRIBLE. OK.

Sir, I would invite you, in fact, I would direct you to answer that question in writing and to support your impression, if you would, with facts and circumstances.

[The information referred to follows:]

REPRESSIVE POLICIES IN ROMANIA SINCE 1975 AND 1976

Ambassador SCHIFTER. During the ten years since the United States began granting Romania Most Favored Nation (MFN) trading status, many aspects of the country's human rights situation have remained as bad as ever, but some have improved. As I stated earlier, Romania remains a repressive police state with none of the basic democratic freedoms. Many aspects of life for all Romanians have actually gotten much worse in recent years due to an acute economic crisis, resulting from appallingly bad economic management. In several areas, though, there have been concrete improvements affecting scores of thousands of people. We believe that these improvements are a direct result of our granting Romania MFN status. The areas of improvement are in the field of emigration, and in the ability of the United States to persuade the Romanian Government to modify its treatment of specific individuals or groups of individuals, such as church groups and congregations.

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment ties ineligibility for MFN to one issue only: emigration. Since MFN status was granted to Romania in 1975, the level of legal emigration from that country to the United States, Israel, and the Federal Republic of Germany has grown from approximately 4,000 persons a year to nearly 20,000 per year. Though some problems connected with Romanian emigration policy persist, the fact remains that Romania has made a significant effort to meet our requirement for allowing emigration. The remaining problems, particularly those concerned with the treatment of persons who have applied to leave but have not yet done so, have been the subject of serious negotiations between the United States

and Romania. We are in the final stages of putting together an agreement which will, we hope, substantially alleviate many of those problems. As it is, Romania is prepared to let many more persons emigrate to the United States than we are able to admit under the provisions of our own immigrations laws. To sum up, since 1975, Romania has allowed nearly 155,000 persons to emigrate, of whom about 25,000 left for the United States, 27,000 for Israel, and 101,000 for the Federal Republic of Germany.

In recent months, largely because of the influence developed through the grant of MFN status, we were able to persuade the Romanian Government to release Father Calciu, a renowned clergyman, from imprisonment, and later to allow him to emigrate. We were also able to get the Romanians to allow the poet Dorin Tudoran, who had also run afoul of the authorities, to leave the country. There are also the cases of churches or pastors who have been able to conduct religious activities due to the knowledge on the part of the Romanian authorities that extreme measures against them might jeopardize MFN. Let me emphasize that we are by no means satisfied with Romania's present-day condition vis-a-vis the churches. We have protested many actions which Romania has taken. But there is no doubt that the government is today allowing greater freedom to worship than it did prior to 1975.

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Chairman, I would also request the permission of the subcommittee to propound a number of questions to this witness that perhaps he or some of his colleagues in the State Department could answer to flesh out some of the queries that I have made.

Senator PRESSLER. The witness may not be able to answer your questions now, but I will ask for written responses from the State Department on the various areas that you have raised. I think they should be answered. That is part of the purpose of this hearing, and I thank you for raising them.

I will certainly cooperate in any way that I can so that the appropriate person in the State Department can answer our inquiries.

Senator TRIBLE. That would be fine.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I thank Senator Boschwitz for yielding.

Senator PRESSLER. Senator Boschwitz.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. If I may pursue for a moment, Mr. Secretary, the questions posed by my colleague from Virginia; it is important, I might say, that you return to us with very firm and understandable answers with respect to most-favored-nation trading status.

The reason I say that is that I agree with your answer that a multifaceted consideration goes into whether or not such most-favored-nation status should be granted. In the event that your bureau does not make the case that needs to be made with respect to all forms of human rights, that case is not going to be made by others in the State Department. It's not that others in the Department do not have a sense of human rights, but they are certainly preoccupied with other matters.

So, I join my colleague from Virginia in hoping that you will get back to us with respect to most-favored-nation status for Romania and that you make that an early item on your agenda.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, could I respond to that?

I want to say, although I have been on the job only recently, I have no doubt that my predecessor, Elliott Abrams, fully made that case. I want to emphasize that if you were to take a look at the country report on Romania, as it was published in February of this year after submission to the Congress, and if you take a look

at the reports of the previous years, I do not think you will find that anything that is of concern to you has in any way been swept under the rug.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I am not suggesting that it has been swept under the rug. I am suggesting that it might be. I am not suggesting that it has not been incorporated in those reports, which I have not had the time to read. I cannot read all of the reports, very frankly, that come to the Congress from the State Department and other agencies. I might say that Assistant Secretary Abrams was a very activist Assistant Secretary in your post, and as you watch his progress in the State Department, that surely did not hurt.

So since you bring up his name, I commend his record to you, namely, that a very activist approach within the State Department in the area of human rights is both necessary and is respected. Elliott Abrams was and continues to be respected here on this committee.

I note, too, that my colleague from Virginia said that in times of adversity, religious feelings seem to heighten. Senator, I notice that the Secretary also alluded to that in page 5 of his testimony, where the Secretary stated that to the chagrin of the authorities, interest in religion on the part of the Soviet people has been on the increase rather than the decline. Then, later on, the Secretary noted that Romania seems to be experiencing a religious revival.

I agree with my colleague from Virginia that during times of adversity, people certainly do turn to a higher being to seek guidance.

You also noted in your testimony, Mr. Secretary, that persons guilty of illegal practices of religion are sent off for years to prison or to a forced labor colony or to exile, most often on trumped up charges.

Do you have any figures on how many people in each of these nations have been exiled or have been imprisoned on such charges as you characterize them?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I can provide you with the data. I would say that the Soviet Union obviously has the largest number. As I have indicated, Czechoslovakia has quite a number. In the case of Bulgaria, it has been largely the ethnic Turkish group. The numbers are significantly smaller in Romania, and I don't know of any in Hungary, Poland, or East Germany.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. One of our colleagues, Senator Armstrong from Colorado, always brings to our attention the fact that many of the manufactured goods that come to us from Russia are produced by slave laborers. I wonder if you could be somewhat more precise about whether or not any of these people who are guilty of so-called illegal religious practices would be found in that group. Could you give us an indication at this time how many people are imprisoned or exiled in the Soviet Union due to religious beliefs?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I don't know the exact number. I would say it would be perhaps 100 or 200, something like that.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. In total?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Keep in mind that some people are also committed to institutions for the mentally ill, and they have to be added in.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Well, I would include them in the group.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I beg your pardon?

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I would include them in the question in that case.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Yes.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. In the Soviet Union, there are only 100 or 200?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I would think so, that have been committed.

As I indicated before, what happens in the Soviet Union is that they simply let certain practices go on for a while before they really hit them. Then, when they move in, they move in very hard. They impose very, very harsh sentences.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. And in the Soviet Union, there are just a couple of hundred people who have been so sentenced, so moved upon?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Well, the result of it, of course, is what I have just suggested, that people are intimidated to the point where they have to be afraid to act.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. What can the United States do to encourage Soviet flexibility on the question of emigration of people who feel themselves persecuted for religious reasons? What do you believe we can do to encourage the Soviets to loosen the chains that they have on the gates through which people can emigrate?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, that is the great challenge that is before the President right now as he goes to Geneva. He will make the point. He will express our concerns, and we will see whether, as a result of the talks in the next few days something positive will result.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I was just handed testimony by Georgi Vins, who has testified before this committee on religious persecution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He says that today nearly 200 Baptist men and women are incarcerated for actively participating in their faiths. So there are 200 Baptists alone which seem to be among that number.

In your opinion, in order to effectuate the desired result of loosening the ties that Soviets and other Eastern European countries are putting on religious emigration, or emigration in general, do you think we ought to take a soft line or a tough line? What do you think the approach of the U.S. Government should be?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. The general policy that we follow in the human rights field is as follows. We make every effort that we can to approach human rights violators through the process of what is known as quiet diplomacy. If they do not hear us in that fashion, then we speak out loudly.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. We speak what?

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Then we speak out loudly and we make it very, very clear to the world what the problem is. In the first instance, it can be done quietly.

Now, in the recent past, the Soviet Union has not been listening when we have tried to talk to them about human rights. It may be that we are entering a new era. We don't know. The experience of the next few weeks will tell. If we can sit down and work things out with them quietly, we should do so. If that fails, we should speak out loudly again.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. I am not sure that that was an answer to the question.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Well, Senator, let me try to make it very clear.

The point I am trying to make is the following. We should be result oriented. Our objective should be at all times to persuade in one way or the other countries that are human rights violators to stop the violations. If under the circumstances it seems that the best approach would be to engage in quiet discussions with them to achieve our result, that is what we ought to do. If one fails in that fashion, one has to speak to the subject.

Let me add a very specific comment.

In January of this year, I approached the Soviet delegation in New York in anticipation of the human rights experts meeting in Ottawa, saying to them just what I have said to you. I said look, we can contribute to a relaxation of tensions if we can sit down and really work on the resolution of problems that exist in the human rights field. We are ready to talk to you, can you name some people who are ready to talk to us?

I spent the next few months going back to them a number of times with the same message. I was authorized to do so. The final result was no, they were not interested in talking.

So, then, when it came to the human rights experts meeting in Ottawa, which began in May of this year, we stated our concerns very clearly, and if you care to see our statements, Senator, I would be happy to send them to you, or if you want to put them in the record, I can put in the record what we said.

There may be a possibility of the Soviet Union in November of this year or December of this year being prepared to engage in discussions of the kind that we offered earlier. If they engage in these discussions and there are positive results from these discussions, we will be happy to talk to them quietly.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Well, Mr. Secretary, I would hope that with the changing of the guard, so to speak, within our own State Department from Mr. Abrams to you that some continuity remains. I was pleased that Mr. Abrams stayed at that post for a couple of years, I think. I hope you stay at the post longer. I think that one of our difficulties in general is that we have a lot of turnover, not only in this area but in general.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Mr. Abrams stayed for close to 4 years, Senator, for 3½ years. He started in December 1981, and he left in the summer of this year. That is 3½ years.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Three and a half years. I remember very contentious hearings about confirming a person to that post before Mr. Abrams and it does not seem that it was that long ago. It was prior to Mr. Abrams.

In any event, it is good. One should stay for a long time. I think that is the only way to get things done.

I would hope that with a new person in that position we do not start again from ground zero, that we continue and do not have to start negotiations over with those countries. They probably will raise some of the same objections at this point that they raised with Mr. Abrams very early on.

57-154 O - 86 - 2

I would suggest to you that the Congress is of a very tough-minded attitude in this whole area of human rights and feels that the State Department, if left to itself, probably would take a more so-called pragmatic approach to the whole business of human rights. They would want to deal on one matter or another and might not want to let these matters of human rights become involved.

I would also suggest that, therefore, it takes a very activist person. I was not at your confirmation hearing; otherwise I would have said the same thing.

I apologize to you, Mr. Schifter. I am not familiar with your background, and if I were, perhaps I would make these comments in a different way. But there is no question in my mind that a very activist approach has to be taken by a person in your position. Otherwise the whole business of human rights may well be subsumed in the whole bureaucracy of the State Department.

I might also say that my impression this morning in listening to you—and I apologize for not being here during the course of your testimony, though I read it as I listened with one ear to the questions of my colleague and your answers—is one of a certain lack of directness in your answers and a certain lack of tough mindedness. I hope that that is not going to characterize your position in these matters in the State Department. If it is, we will have to become more activist.

We have to rely upon you, Ambassador Schifter, to take the most activist approach. The substance of your answers and the nature of your answers this morning would not indicate to me that you are going to do that.

I trust that I am wrong in that regard and that the whole message of human rights will have a strong, forceful, persistent, aggressive voice in the State Department because that is needed.

I do not mean to cast aspersions on any of the people in the State Department. As a matter of fact, I am aware that this Secretary has spoken about human rights more to the Russians than his last five or six predecessors combined.

I just wish to express my feelings and impressions this morning.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Senator, I would like to respond to that.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Good.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I want to make something very, very clear.

I have practiced law in this town for 34 years. I did not leave my firm to join the Government to be a do-nothing Assistant Secretary. I am here to do a job.

Furthermore, Senator, I want to make something very clear. I have worked on human rights now since January 1981. If you had the time to look at my speeches, at the statements that I made directly to the Soviet representatives, you would not have made the statement you made just now.

I must say that I am quite troubled about your statements. They are not justified by my record and I want to say one other thing.

I am quite sure if you were to take a look at my file in KGB headquarters in Moscow, I am quite certain that it has comments on me and about me that differ rather substantially from the statements that you have made.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Well, I first would like to look at those files in the KGB and perhaps will make a trip over there and ask them if I can do that.

Senator TRIBLE. Look at ours while you are about it, Rudy.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Oh, yours is terrible, I am sure. [Laughter.]

But, in any event, I trust that your answers and your positions with your colleagues will be as spirited as your answer to my question.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. I can assure you, I will be.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Good.

Then we will be satisfied up here.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PRESSLER. I am told that Mrs. Avital Scharansky is present, and I would like to note her presence in the audience.

Also, in concluding with this witness, I think very specific written followup questions have been asked for, and we look forward to those responses. I have two questions of my own that I would like to see answered in followup testimony.

In your testimony, you stated that the main thing we must do is keep this matter in the public eye. Would you add to that specific steps that the administration or the State Department might take in this area in the near future?

Second, in view of the issue of most-favored-nation status, would you give specific statements of the foreign policy considerations that outweighed the human rights issue in the case of Romania.

[The information referred to follows:]

Ambassador SCHIFTER. With respect to your first question, concerning what the Administration and the State Department plan to do to keep human rights and religious freedom before the public eye, it is basically a matter of continuing and, if possible, intensifying, what we have done all along. We submit to Congress, which then publishes, our annual Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. Twice a year we issue a report on the record over the past six months of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries in complying with their commitments, including human rights commitments, under the Helsinki Final Act. Department spokesmen regularly testify before congressional committees such as this one on various aspects of U.S. human rights policy and Warsaw Pact human rights practices. Furthermore, Department spokesmen, including the Secretary, regularly give public addresses on these topics. Finally, we seek to deal with human rights issues, including the situation in Romania, in the international organizations and meetings in which we participate, including the United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations Human Rights Commission and the meetings held under the provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

It is, of course, clear that there are limits as to what we can do. We cannot compel the press to publish more stories on human rights problems in Eastern Europe than they find newsworthy. There have certainly been times when we have felt the press has not covered, or insufficiently covered, various developments.

With respect to your second question, relating to other policy concerns affecting MFN and our relations with Romania, I want to emphasize that in accordance with the law we examine first the country's policy on the issue of emigration. When we see some significant movement in that area, we consider the possibility of recommending a waiver. In reaching a decision on whether or not to offer such a recommendation, we examine first our human rights concerns and commit ourselves to continual pursuit of our human rights goals both before and after MFN status has been granted.

As far as our other foreign policy concerns go, while we do not overrate them, we believe Romania has taken a number of steps which further U.S. policy interests. These include:

Romania has limited its military participation in the Warsaw Pact. No Soviet troops have been stationed there since 1958, and there has been very limited troop participation in Warsaw pact maneuvers since the 1960s.

Romania has dissented on important policy issues with the rest of the Warsaw Pact: The invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, INF, military spending.

Romania has not joined the great majority of Warsaw Pact countries in voting for anti-U.S. name-calling resolutions in the UN, but has been absent on those votes. Similarly, Romania frequently is absent on other votes which we deem "key votes" and on which the other Warsaw Pact countries consistently vote against us.

Romania has ignored Soviet prescriptions for its economic development, limited reliance on Soviet energy (currently under 10%), and shifted over 50% of its trade to OECD countries since the 1970s, and

Romania has been of help to our own Middle Eastern policy by maintaining relations and conducting a continuing high-level dialogue with Israel, the only Warsaw Pact country to do so, and by trying to play a positive role in bringing Israel and moderate Arabs together.

With respect to the name calling resolutions and other votes of major importance to United States interests in the UN, Romania clearly has a better record than that of any Warsaw Pact country.

On the ten key votes of the 39th General Assembly, Romania was the one East European country which did not vote against us on a single occasion:

	Agree with United States	Disagree	Abstain/Abs
Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia:			
Romania	1	0	9
Yugoslavia	3	6	1
Albania	1	6	3
Hungary	0	9	1
Bulgaria	0	10	0
Byelorussia	0	10	0
Czechoslovakia	0	10	0
G.D.R.	0	10	0
Poland	0	10	0
Ukraine	0	10	0
U.S.S.R.	0	10	0
Romania's record thus compares favorably to that of quite a number of countries outside Eastern Europe:			
Brazil	4	1	5
Kenya	4	2	4
Egypt	4	4	2
Morocco	4	4	2
China	3	4	3
Jordan	3	4	3
Mexico	2	5	3
India	0	5	5
Indonesia	4	5	1
Saudi Arabia	3	6	1

The record on 20 "name-calling" votes was the following:

	Eliminate criticism United States	Criticize	Abstain/Abs
Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia:			
Romania	0	0	20
Yugoslavia	0	19	1
Albania	0	20	0
Hungary	0	20	0
Bulgaria	0	20	0
Byelorussia	0	20	0

	Eliminate criticism United States	Criticize	Abstain/Abs
Czechoslovakia	0	20	0
G.D.R.	0	20	0
Poland	0	20	0
Ukraine	0	20	0
U.S.S.R.	0	20	0
Other countries:			
Morocco	8	2	10
Jordan	1	10	9
Brazil	0	0	20
Egypt	0	10	10
Saudi Arabia	0	14	6
Indonesia	0	15	5
Kenya	0	16	4
China	0	17	3
India	0	17	3
Mexico	0	18	2

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Chairman, may I just add one point?

Senator PRESSLER. Yes.

Senator TRIBLE. I want to complete the record and tie together our discussion about the U.N. voting record of these nations.

I have before me now the U.N. voting record for the 38th General Assembly, which reflects all U.N. General Assembly plenary votes. It reflects the percentage of voting with the United States.

On the high side, you have Israel, which voted with the United Nations 93.3 percent of the time, the United Kingdom at 84.2 percent of the time, the Federal Republic of Germany at 82 percent of the time. Then you move down the list and, of course, at the very bottom come the Communist states. Among those Communist states, China, the People's Republic of China, voted with the United States 20.5 percent, Yugoslavia was 19.1 percent, Romania was 16.3 percent, and then a bit lower down the list you have Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, and the U.S.S.R., all of which voted with the United States 13.8 percent of the time.

So the record, at least for the 38th General Assembly, shows that Romania's record is not better than Yugoslavia's. It is slightly better than that of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union. But I would suggest in the totality of votes there is not a substantial difference between 13.8 percent and 16.3 percent.

I think this is further demonstration of the fact that this committee needs to assess the whole orbit of our relationship with Romania and with the other Eastern European countries.

I applaud your leadership, Mr. Chairman, in calling this committee.

I think the Ambassador wanted to respond.

Ambassador SCHIFTER. Yes, Senator.

There are other aspects of this matter, and I am not here to defend Romania. But let me say that, first of all, there are a good many situations that are not reflected in the overall percentages, such as the cases when Romania takes a walk on a vote. That does not show up in the percentage, and there is a rather substantial

number of those instances, particularly on questions where the issue is denunciation of the United States.

Those are the ones that I had in mind. If I remember correctly, at the last session there were 18 or 20 key votes which were so-called name-calling votes, and on practically all of these, if I remember correctly, Romania took a walk, and was the only one in that bloc to do that.

Senator TRIBLE. Well, that certainly is a profile in courage. [Laughter.]

Ambassador SCHIFTER. All I am talking about is how Romania compares with the others.

I am not trying to defend Romania. I am just trying to suggest that there is a difference that is reflected in some significant situations.

Senator TRIBLE. I can only focus on the analogy of a member of the Senate taking a walk. I must tell you that it would be far worse for us to take a walk than it would be to cast a tough vote. Surely the best demonstration of friendship or sensitivity to the principles for which all Americans stand would not be absence from the international forum, but rather active participation in support for the kind of world that we want to build.

I thank you.

I will follow up with a series of questions which I will propound through the committee to you, Mr. Ambassador, and you, of course, in turn can call on the full force, weight, and resources of the State Department to help flesh out those answers. I thank you for being here today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your patience.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you, Ambassador Schifter.

Senator BOSCHWITZ. Mr. Chairman, I want to ask unanimous consent that a statement of mine be placed in the record prior to the hearing. If we have an extra copy, I would like to have a copy of it given to Ambassador Schifter. I ask unanimous consent on that.

[Senator Boschwitz' prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SENATOR RUDY BOSCHWITZ

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN. I WANT TO COMMEND YOU FOR HOLDING THIS HEARING NOW ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT. IT IS AN IMPORTANT TOPIC, AND I APPLAUD YOUR EFFORTS TO BRING IT BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CONGRESSIONAL CALL TO CONSCIENCE THIS YEAR, I HAVE BEEN DAILY REMINDED OF THE PERVASIVE REPRESSION OF RELIGION IN THE USSR. SOVIET CHRISTIANS, JEWS, AND MUSLIMS ARE ALL DENIED THE RIGHT FREELY TO WORSHIP, TO STUDY THE SACRED TEXTS OF THEIR ANCIENT FAITHS, AND TO PROCLAIM WITHOUT FEAR OR CONSEQUENCE THEIR LINK IN A COMMUNITY OF BELIEF WITH BOTH THOSE WHO HAVE GONE BEFORE AND WITH THOSE OF SIMILAR BELIEF AROUND THE WORLD.

THOSE WHO WOULD CHOOSE TO LIVE AN ACTIVE RELIGIOUS LIFE FACE HARASSMENT, IMPRISONMENT, OR CONFINEMENT IN WHAT ARE TERMED "PSYCHIATRIC INSTITUTIONS."

*IMAGINE, CHRISTIANS, WHOSE ONLY CRIME IS THEIR DESIRE TO PRACTICE THEIR FAITH, HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO UP TO 12 YEARS IN PRISON OR TO INTERNAL EXILE. OTHERS HAVE LOST THEIR JOBS. RECENTLY, SIX FAMILIES OF PENTACOSTALS HAVE BEEN THREATENED WITH LOSING CUSTODY OF THEIR CHILDREN.

*NEARLY A SCORE OF JEWS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED OVER THE PAST YEAR FOR THEIR INVOLVEMENT IN JEWISH CULTURE -- INCLUDING 9 WHOSE CRIME AGAINST THE GREAT SOVIET STATE WAS TO TEACH THE HEBREW LANGUAGE!

*MUSLIMS IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA HAVE BEEN SENTENCED TO LABOR CAMPS WITH SENTENCES OF UP TO 7 YEARS FOR DISTRIBUTING SUCH SUBVERSIVE MATERIAL AS TRANSLATIONS OF THE KORAN!

ONE EXPERT ON THE SUBJECT HAS NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY IN WHICH RELIGION IS SUPPRESSED IN THE SOVIET UNION IS BY SEVERELY RESTRICTING THE NUMBER OF CHURCHES, MOSQUES, OR SYNAGOGUES ALLOWED TO OPERATE. THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 14,400 CHURCHES IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR A CHRISTIAN POPULATION OF 58 MILLION -- ONE CHURCH FOR EVERY 4000 BELIEVERS. IN 1917, THERE WERE OVER 54,000 RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCHES ALONE. BY COMPARISON, THE UNITED STATES HAS 385,000 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, ONE FOR EVERY 500 AMERICANS.

AS FOR JEWS -- IN MOSCOW, A CITY WITH OVER 500,000 JEWS, THERE ARE ONLY TWO SYNAGOGUES IN OPERATION. IN ALL OF THE SOVIET UNION, IN WHICH THERE ARE 2.7 MILLION JEWS, THERE ARE ONLY 69 ACTIVE SYNAGOGUES -- ONE FOR EVERY 39,000 JEWS. THERE WERE 5,000 SYNAGOGUES IN 1917. THERE IS ONLY ONE ACTIVE RABBINICAL SCHOOL, WITH 10 STUDENTS.

AND FOR MUSLIMS, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION THERE WERE SOME 25,000 MOSQUES IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA; TODAY, THERE ARE NO MORE THAN 500, FOR A MUSLIM POPULATION OF 45 MILLION. ACCORDING TO CURRENT POPULATION TRENDS, BY THE YEAR 2000 THERE WILL BE 100 MILLION MUSLIMS, BUT ONLY 20 MUSLIMS ARE ALLOWED TO BE ORDAINED PER YEAR.

THERE ARE MANY OTHER INDICATIONS OF RELIGIOUS REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION. BIBLES ARE SCARCE; OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS, FOR THE MILLIONS OF BELIEVERS IN THE USSR ONLY AN AVERAGE OF SLIGHTLY MORE THAN 15,000 BIBLES A YEAR HAVE BEEN

PRINTED. NO GENERAL THEOLOGICAL WORKS, NOT EVEN A COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE, HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO BE PUBLISHED SINCE 1917.

AND LEST WE THINK THAT SUCH INTOLERANCE IS A THING OF THE PAST, THAT A NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION HAS EMERGED THAT WILL REFORM SUCH UNCIVILIZED POLICIES, LET ME POINT OUT THAT FROM THE DEATH OF LEONID BREZHNEV IN 1982 TO THE ACCESSION OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS IN PRISON FOR BREAKING ANTI-RELIGIOUS LAWS INCREASED FOURFOLD. MR. GORBACHEV'S RESPONSE, FIRST IN LONDON LAST DECEMBER AND MORE RECENTLY IN PARIS, HAS BEEN TO ANGRILY DENY THE EXISTENCE OF ANY RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN HIS COUNTRY.

MR. CHAIRMAN, SUCH PERSECUTION AFFECTS ALL BELIEVERS IN THE USSR. BUT I WOULD ADD ONE SPECIAL WORD ABOUT THE CONDITION OF SOVIET JEWS. UNLIKE THE OTHER COMMUNITIES OF FAITH IN THE USSR, SOVIET JEWS ARE MARKED BY NATIONAL AS WELL AS RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION. IN THE USSR, BEING JEWISH IS NOT ONLY ONE'S RELIGION, BUT ONE'S NATIONALITY AS WELL. UNLIKE OTHERS WHO ARE BORN IN THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NATIONALITY STAMPED ON THE INTERNAL PASSPORTS OF SOVIET JEWS IS JEWISH, NOT RUSSIAN. BUT JEWS ARE DENIED THE RIGHTS OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS ENJOY WITHOUT QUESTION IN THE SOVIET UNION: THE RIGHT TO EDUCATE THEIR YOUNG IN THEIR NATIONAL LANGUAGE, THE RIGHT TO STUDY THEIR OWN HISTORY AND CULTURE, THE RIGHT TO LIVE WITH THE PRIDE ASSOCIATED WITH NATIONAL IDENTITY. THESE RIGHTS ARE ACCORDED TO OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS. THERE IS, FOR EXAMPLE, A FLOURISHING NETWORK OF GERMAN LANGUAGE SCHOOLS AND FACILITIES

IN THE SOVIET UNION FOR THAT COUNTRY'S GERMAN MINORITY -- DESPITE THE HISTORIC ANIMOSITY BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN AND GERMAN PEOPLES AND THE MILLIONS OF SOVIET LOSSES SUFFERED AT THE HANDS OF THE GERMANS DURING WORLD WAR II.

THUS, JEWS ARE CAUGHT IN A VICE: MARKED BY SOVIET LAW AS A NATION AS WELL AS A RELIGIOUS MINORITY, THEY NEVERTHELESS ARE FORBIDDEN TO LEARN OF THEIR HERITAGE, TO PUT CONTENT AND MEANING INTO THE WORD "JEW" STAMPED ON THEIR INTERNAL PASSPORTS. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARE SUBJECT TO A THINLY-VEILED ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA ONSLAUGHT AS VICIOUS AS ANY IN THE WORLD TODAY. THE SOVIET UNION'S UNRELENTING "ANTI-ZIONIST" CAMPAIGN, ORGANIZED BY OFFICIALLY-SPONSORED COMMITTEES, IS CONDUCTED IN EVERY MAJOR CITY IN THE USSR. THESE COMMITTEES DISSEMINATE WHAT CAN ONLY BE TERMED AS VICIOUS AND NAZI-LIKE PROPAGANDA THAT VILLIFIES JEWS AS PART OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF THE WORLD'S ILLS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, WE FIND OURSELVES NOW AT AN INTERESTING INTERSECTION OF TIME: WE HAVE BEEN OBSERVING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS THIS YEAR. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE NOW ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV. WE ALL WISH THAT THE SUMMIT IS SUCCESSFUL -- THAT MORE THAN JUST AN ACQUAINTANCESHIP IS STRUCK UP BETWEEN THESE TWO MEN. FOR MY PART, MAY I SUGGEST AT LEAST ONE CONTEXT WITH WHICH TO MEASURE SUCCESS: A RENEWED SOVIET COMMITMENT TO ITS OWN LAW, ITS OWN CONSTITUTION WHICH ELOQUENTLY SPELLS OUT THE UNFETTERED RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF WORSHIP -- A CONSTITUTION

PROMULGATED AND THEN IGNORED BY THE SOVIET UNION; A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND TO ITS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN -- A DECLARATION SIGNED AND THEN IGNORED BY THE SOVIET UNION; AND A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, A DOCUMENT SIGNED BY THE HIGHEST POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THEN IGNORED. FOR YOU SEE, MR. CHAIRMAN, WE ASK FOR NO GREAT GIFT, NO NEW DEMAND THAT THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF DOES NOT ALREADY RECOGNIZE IN ITS OWN LAW AS AN ELEMENTAL RIGHT.

AND WE HERE HAVE A TREMENDOUS RESPONSIBILITY TO MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE, TO KEEP THE VIGIL, TO PERSIST IN THE STRUGGLE. WE ARE FORTUNATE THAT WE ARE NOT ALONE IN THAT STRUGGLE. MANY ORGANIZATIONS HAVE JOINED THE BATTLE, INCLUDING SOME TESTIFYING BEFORE YOU TODAY. SOME ARE CONCERNED SPECIFICALLY WITH SOVIET JEWRY, AND SOME, SUCH AS CREED -- THE CHRISTIAN RESCUE EFFORT FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF DISSIDENTS -- INTERCEDE ON BEHALF OF CHRISTIAN PRISONERS OF FAITH.

BUT THE PROBLEM WE FACE IS NOT LIMITED TO RELIGIOUS SECTS ONLY; IT IS A HUMAN PROBLEM THAT NEEDS ADDRESSING IN MANY FORUMS, INCLUDING THIS ONE ON CAPITOL HILL. SO I COMMEND YOUR EFFORTS THIS MORNING AND THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE TESTIMONY OF YOUR DISTINGUISHED PANEL.

[Senator Trible's opening statement follows:]

It is significant that this hearing is being held on the eve of the Soviet-American summit, for it is appropriate to draw the world's attention to the nature of the Soviet system.

This hearing will remind us of the conflicting principles that lay at the foundations of American and Soviet policies. America's foreign policy seeks the exercise of fundamental political and social rights. We understand that widening the scope of human freedom is in our interest.

The ideological impulse that informs Soviet policy requires both hegemony and oppression, and particularly the oppression of religion. As Alexander Solzhenitsyn has said: "Militant atheism is not merely incidental to Communist policy; it is not a side effect, but the central pivot."

On this point, the evidence is abundant. Jews and Christians are imprisoned throughout the Soviet Union. There, as in many of the East European nations, it is illegal to teach your children about God. It is illegal to produce and distribute the Bible and other religious material. It is illegal to build a church or synagogue without permission from the government.

It's for these reasons that the Congress should pursue every available means of enhancing religious freedom in Communist lands. That's why I have sponsored legislation to suspend most-favored-nation trade status to Romania until it eases its oppression of religion.

The United States must fulfill its promise to promote freedom in other lands and I look forward to the testimony of today's witnesses.

Senator PRESSLER. Our next witness is Father Victor S. Potapov. Please come forward.

Father Victor Potapov, 37, rector of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of St. John the Baptist of Washington, DC, is the founder of the Committee for the Defense of Persecuted Orthodox Christians, which he organized in 1978 in response to the increasing oppression of believers in the U.S.S.R.

As part of this work, Father Victor also began the publication of a biennial journal, The Orthodox Monitor, devoted to news of persecuted Christians in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Father Victor, who is an American of Russian parentage, is also a religious broadcaster for the Voice of America's Russian service. He is in charge of a 45-minute "Religion in Our Life" program which is broadcast several times a week to the Soviet Union under the VOA.

Father Victor Potapov also serves on the advisory boards of Keston College Center for the Study of Religion and Communism in Great Britain and the United States-based human rights organization Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents [CREED].

Let me say in welcoming you to the committee that I have received a note from staff saying that in order to complete these proceedings by 1 o'clock today, we are going to have to ask witnesses to summarize in about 8 to 10 minutes, at which time a red light will come on and we will then ask you questions.

Please summarize your statement; of course, your entire statement will be placed in the record.

Father Potapov, we welcome you here.

STATEMENT OF FATHER VICTOR POTAPOV, U.S.S.R. DIVISION, VOICE OF AMERICA, U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

Father POTAPOV. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As one approaches the subject of religion in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it is imperative that one clearly understands

the attitude of Marxism-Leninism toward religion. Unfortunately, many of us fail to understand communism's approach to religion. Many in the West believe that this attitude is an incidental matter, at best a matter of social or political significance.

This could not be farther from the truth.

MARXISM-LENINISM: THE ANTIRELIGION

Contrary to what may be true in other systems, religion and religious doctrines are not of marginal interest to Marxism-Leninism.

Within the philosophical system of Marx and Lenin and at the heart of their psychology, hatred of God is the principal, driving force of communism. Militant Communist atheism is, as Alexander Solzhenitsyn in his Templeton address has put it, "the central pivot of Communist policy." To reach its diabolical ends, communism needs to control a population completely devoid of religious and national feeling.

Communists have for 68 years proclaimed these objectives openly, and just as openly put them into practice.

Marx stated that the abolition of religion as an illusory happiness of the people is necessary for the creation of its real happiness.

Marxism-Leninism is formulated as a living and forceful faith itself, an anti-Christian sect, as one contemporary Russian philosopher put it. Its adherents believe in propositions which are to be accepted as absolute truths. This has been explicitly repeated thousands of times in Soviet literature.

I would add that Marxism-Leninism is a metaphysical world view.

Marxism-Leninism sees religion as something radically false. It carries with it—religion—a completely wicked morality, for religion is individualistic, egoistic, because it preaches personal and not social salvation. Religion is the chief ideological weapon of the exploiters in their fight against the liberation of mankind. There can be, as Lenin said, nothing more abominable than religion.

Given these beliefs, it was inevitable that those who embraced Marxist-Leninist teaching should feel moved to place serious constraints upon the activities of the churches and other religious bodies when they found themselves in positions of authority, by any means which a Communist government has at its disposal.

In October 1917, the Bolsheviks took over in Russia, determined to force communism on its society through a dedicated and highly organized elite. Religion in Russia was faced with the severe threat of being physically annihilated. Religion was one of the first and main targets of elimination in Lenin's great grand plan of reshaping Russian society.

The Russian Orthodox Church was the first to suffer because it was this church that presented the most formidable obstacle to the assumption of comprehensive power by the new rulers, since its beliefs and its organization stood in stark contrast to all that the Communists planned for the future.

The church had to be either tamed or destroyed.

Almost immediately, the church was separated from the state—of course, not a negative principle in itself. But one must also

always bear in mind that separation of church and state in the Soviet Union is something radically different than separation of church and state in our own country.

HOW THE SOVIETS ATTACKED THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

In the Communist world, the separation of church and state has come to signify the denial of the property rights of all religious associations and the subordination of all their activities to state control.

From the very beginning of the existence of the Soviet Union, the churches were deprived of all their possessions, educational institutions and the right to teach any subjects pertaining to religion. Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, there were 52 theological seminaries and four theological academies or graduate schools in Russia. Now, with the stroke of a pen, all these educational institutions of higher learning, along with thousands, almost 40,000 parish schools, were closed.

Such was the situation from the legislative point of view. In practice, things were much, much worse.

Two days after the decree of the separation of church and state of January 23, 1918, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Vladimir, was murdered by a group of Communists. He was the first victim among thousands, tens of thousands, who perished as a result of their defense of religion in the Soviet Union. But the principal attack against religion and the Russian Orthodox Church was postponed until after the end of the civil war, in the 1920's.

In 1929, a new law concerning the church was issued, which greatly worsened the situation which had existed since the 1918 decrees against the church and religion.

The law of 1929 prohibited the church from organizing, and I quote.

> For children, young people, or women, special prayer or other meetings, or in general any meetings, groups, circles, or departments, for scriptural or literary study, sewing, working, or the teaching of religion. Only books necessary for the purpose of the cult may be kept in the buildings and premises used for worship.

All of these rules were crowned by a change in the basic functioning of the 1918 decree concerning freedom of religion. In 1918, it was stated that "freedom of religious and antireligious propaganda is secured to citizens."

In 1929, the wording was changed:

> Freedom of religious propaganda was officially deleted on the grounds that freedom of religious propaganda exceeds the limits of religious freedom recognized by Soviet law.

In 1932, a 5-year plan to eradicate all traces of religion by 1937 was announced. By 1939, only a small percent of the more than 54,000 Orthodox churches, which had been active in 1914, remained open. The number of clergy through arrest and torture had been reduced from 50,000 to literally a handful. All 1,000 monasteries and convents were closed.

By the time World War II broke out, religious life in the Soviet Union virtually disappeared or was driven underground, to reappear when the opportunity presented itself.

As you well know, the Soviet Union was not prepared for World War II. The beginning of the war brought defeat to the Soviet armies whose soldiers were being taken prisoner by the tens of thousands by the Germans. Morale in the nation was at its lowest. Still too fresh in the mind of the populace was the memory of mass collectivization, the purges of the 1930's, and the vicious persecution of the church. Millions remained as slaves in the gulag.

Stalin was desperate. Oddly enough, because of his desperation, the church was granted a second lease on life. Stalin decided to use the church to raise morale and to evoke patriotism by granting concessions to the handful of hierarchs who had survived the persecution in return for their help to support the war effort.

From 1943 until approximately 1960, the Soviets were more or less satisfied with the unconditional cooperation of the Moscow Patriarchate in the field of lending its support to Communist foreign policy and put an end, for a time, to open persecution.

At the same time, the authorities created a special institution for the control of the church—the Committee for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church. Later this committee ceased to exist, and the Council on Religious Affairs was put into place to oversee the activities of all religious associations in the U.S.S.R.

MOSCOW USES THE CHURCH FOR FOREIGN POLICY GAINS

The former committee and now the Council for Religious Affairs controlled and continued to control all appointments of bishops and clergy in general, and gradually began to use representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate and other Christian, Muslim, and Jewish denominations, for the aims of Soviet foreign policy. This is particularly obvious within the ecumenical movement.

In the World Council of Churches, the Moscow Patriarchate holds several top positions, which it skillfully uses for a variety of reasons beneficial to Soviet foreign policy.

First, participation in the activities of the World Council of Churches gives the semblance of normalcy of church-state relations in the Soviet Union.

Second, Soviet clergymen use the World Council of Churches to deflect Western criticism of Soviet expansionist policies. This was evident in 1968, when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia, and, most recently, in the case of Afghanistan.

The Soviet delegation to the World Council of Churches is especially skillful at manipulating representatives from Third World countries, convincing them of the so-called peace-loving policies of the Soviet Union.

I just might add that in 1960, Khrushchev began a series of violent persecutions of the church, during which anywhere from 10,000 to 14,000 Orthodox churches and as many as 50 of the 69 remaining monasteries were closed.

WHY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FEARS THE CHURCH

I included in my paper a very interesting report that I hope you and the panel will pay attention to. This is the secret report written by the vice chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs, Vasily Furov, discussing how the Government controls the church.

In conclusion, I would add that Christian believers were the first citizens in the U.S.S.R. who dared publicly to protest the hypocritical use of the liberal slogans of freedom of conscience and the civil rights in the Soviet Union. They showed the world that socialist legality does not exist in the Soviet Union and that in the context of a continuing totalitarian structure this will never be allowed to exist.

The Soviet Union, for 68 years, has used terror, massive propaganda, and even infiltration of the priesthood by agents of the KGB in an attempt to destroy the Russian Orthodox Church.

But the church, nevertheless, survives as a functioning organism that plays a much greater role in the life of the Soviet populace than might appear at first glance, and, as has already been noticed today, the church is enjoying a spiritual revival on the eve of the Millenium of Russian Christianity, which the church will be celebrating in 1988.

It is my sincere conviction that America's vital interests will be well served if we support this revival of religion in the Soviet Union.

Thank you.

[Father Potapov's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF VICTOR S. POTAPOV

THE REALITY OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

As one approaches the subject of religion in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it is imperative that one clearly understands the attitude of Marxism-Leninism towards religion.

Unfortunately, many of us fail to understand Communism's approach to religion. Many in the West believe that the attitude of Communism towards religion is an incidental matter, at best a matter of social and political significance. This could not be farther from the truth.

Contrary to what may be true in other systems, religion and religious doctrines are not of marginal interest to Marxism-Leninism.

Within the philosophical system of Marx and Lenin and at the heart of their psychology, hatred of God is the principal driving force of communism. Militant communist atheism is, as Alexandr Solzhenitsyn in his Templeton Address has put it - "the central pivot of communist policy."[1] To reach its diabolical ends, Communism needs to control a population completely devoid of religious and national feeling. Communists have for 68 years proclaimed these objectives openly, and just as openly put them into practice.

Marx stated that "religion is the sign of an oppressed creature, the soul of a heartless world, the spirit of timelessness. It is the opium of the people. Abolition of religion as an

illusory happiness of the people is necessary for the creation of its real happiness."[2]

To begin with, Marxism-Leninism is formulated as a living and forceful faith. Its adherents believe in propositions which are to be accepted as absolute truths. This has been explicity repeated thousands of times in Soviet literature. Marxism-Leninism is a metaphysical world-view. Its social doctrines are to be found in so-called "historical materialism."

According to this world-view, the only reality is matter and the universe has come into being as a result of a dialectical process within matter. There is, therefore, no need of a Creator, no need of a supernatural being. Man is the integral part of material order and at physical death individuals simply cease to exist. There is no possibilty of survival for individuals. According to Marxism-Leninism only the human race is immortal and its corporate well-being represents ultimate value. This corporate well-being requires individuals to liberate the earth from the evil of exploitation and it is in the service of liberation that individuals find purpose, happiness and satisfaction.

Marxism-Leninism sees religion as something radically false. It carries with it a completely wicked morality, for religion is individualistic, egoistic, because it preaches personal and not social salvation. Above all, religion does not attribute to man his primacy since it admits a God and higher beings. Religion is the chief ideological weapon of the exploiters in their fight against the liberation of mankind. There can be, as Lenin said, nothing more abominable than religion.

Given these beliefs, it was inevitable that those

who embraced Marxist-Leninist teaching should feel moved to place serious constraints upon the activities of the churches and other religious bodies when they found themselves in positions of authority. The Christian credo inevitably appeared as pernicious superstition which ought to be eliminated, or at least severly limited in its influence, by any means which a communist government has at its disposal.

In October, 1917, the Bolsheviks took over in Russia, determined to force Communism on its society through a dedicated and highly organized elite. Religion in Russia was faced with tne severe threat of being physically annihilated. Religion was one of the first and main targets of elimination in Lenin's grand plan reshaping Russian society. The Russian Orthodox Church was the first to suffer because it was this Church that presented the most formidable obstacle to the assumption of comprehensive power by the new rulers, since its beliefs and its organization stood in stark contract to all that the communists planned for the future. The Church had to be either tamed or destroyed.

Almost immediately the Church was separated from the State -- not a negative principle in itself. But one must always bear in mind that separation of Church and State in the Soviet Union is something radically different than separation of Church and State in our country. In democratic countries this phrase has meant that the state favors no single religious group and does not interfere in any of their activities, but grants to all full freedom in internal affairs. In the communist world "the separation of church and state" has come to signify the denial of the property rights of all religious associations and the subordination

of all their activities to state control.

In the first article of the Soviet "Decree on Land Nationalization" published on Nov. 8, 1917, we find: "Landed proprietorship is abolished forthwith without compensation."[4] This included all church land property.

The Decree of Dec. 31 of the same year declared that "the Russian Republic recognizes only civil marriage."[5] In the same Decree it was stated that all registrations of births and deaths became a matter for the government alone.

The most important decree, however, was the "Decree of the Council of the People's Commisars Concerning the Separation of the Church from the State, and of Schools from the Church", dated Jan. 23, 1918. Here are a few of the points of this document:

> "1. The Church is separated from the State.
>
> "9. Schools are separated from the Church. The teaching of religious doctrines in all State and public as well as private educational establishments where general subjects are taught, is prohibited. Citizens may teach and be taught privately.
>
> "11. All the possessions of ecclesiastical and religious societies existing in Russia are declared to be national property. The buildings and objects are given over, by special decree of the local or central state authority, for the use of the aforesaid religious societies".[6]

Thus, from the very beginning of the existence of the Soviet Union the churches were deprived of all their possessions, educational institutions and the right to teach any subjects pertaining to religion. Prior to the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 there were 52 theological seminaries and 4 theological academies or graduate schools. Now, with the stroke of a pen, all these educational institutions of higher learning along with thousands of parish schools, were closed.

Such was the situation from the legislative point of view. In practice things were much worse. Two days after the Decree of Jan. 23, 1918, the Metropolitan of Kiev Vladimir was murdered by a group of Communists. He was the first victim among thousands who perished as a result of their defense of religion in the Soviet Union. But the principle attack against religion and the Russian Orthodox Church was postponed until the end of the Civil War.

The bitter struggle between the Soviet State and the Church was not reflected in the legal code until 1929. Before that, the struggle was carried out with a degree of restraint, often under the cover of dissident trends within the Church itself which were very cleverly and cynically exploited by the Soviet authorities. I have in mind the so-called "Renovationist Movement" or the "Living Church" which had the support of the Soviet Government. This "Living Church" was a radical reformist movement which originated before the Revolution and nearly succeeded in becoming a sort of Soviet State Church during 1922-1923, while the head of the Russian Orthodox Church was in prison. The "Living Church", which recognized Communism as something near to the realization of the Kingdom of God on Earth, never enjoyed popular support among the masses of believers. The Soviets supported the "Living Church" in an attempt to weaken further the already persecuted Russian Orthodox Church. I might add that this same "divide and conquer" mentality was behind the Bolshevik's decision to allow protestant preachers from the West to proselytize among the Orthodox populace of Russia (having outlived their usefulness, they too would soon experience persecution.).

Patriarch Tikhon, Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church was freed from prison in 1923 as a consequence of pressure from

Europe, but thousands of clergymen and believers, headed by Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd, were tried and executed.

After the death of the 60-year-old Patriarch, it was necessary to summon a council in order to elect a new primate. The Communist authorities opposed the idea of a council and the Church had no alternative but to put into operation a succession of Deputys. These Deputys (Locum Tenens) were repeatedly arrested and then freed again with the aim of arousing a distrust of the Church hierarchs among the believers. Temporary acting Deputy Metropolitan Peter (Poliansky) was arrested several months after the death of Patriarch Tikhon, never to be freed again.

After having been twice himself arrested Metropolitan Sergius, who served as substitute for Deputy Metropolitan Peter in 1927, issued a declaration, which was to acquire a sad reputation.In this declaration he stated:

> "We wish to be Orthodox and at the same time to recognize the Soviet Union as our civil homeland, the joys and successes of which are our joys and successes, and the failures of which are our failures. Every blow directed at the Union, be it war, boycott, any kind of social disaster or simply murder from around the corner ... shall be recognized by us as a blow directed at us. Remaining Orthodox, we remember our obligation to be citizens of the Soviet Union, not only from fear but also according to our conscience."[7]

This declaration aroused protests from a significant number of the clergy, headed by Metropolitan Joseph of Leningrad, and led to the creation of the Russian Catacomb (Underground) Church.

Especially unacceptable was the statement that "the joys and successes" of the Soviet Union headed by militant atheists "are our joys and successes." It was clear to everyone that one of the greatest joys of the Soviet authorities would be the

Communist government's successful destruction of religion and the Church.

Metropolitan Sergius' declaration was published on the eve of the forced collectivization, when the peseants' land was confiscated and transferred to collective farms. These measures were followed by mass arrests of millions of peasants, with famine, an enormous increase in the number of concentration camps, and the closing of churches all over the country.

In 1929, a new law concerning the Church was issued which greatly worsened the situation that had existed since the 1918 decrees against the Church. The law of 1929 prohibited the Church from organizing "for children, young people or women, special prayer of other meetings or, in general, any meetings, groups, circles or departments for Scriptural or literary study, sewing, working or the teaching of religion. Only books necessary for the purpose of the cult may be kept in the buildings and premises used for worship."[8]

All these rules were crowned by a change in the basic functioning of the 1918 Decree Concerning Freedom of Religion. In 1918 it was stated that "freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is secured to citizens." In 1929 the wording was changed: "Freedom of religious propaganda" was officially deleted on the grounds that "freedom of religious propaganda exceeds the limits of religious freedom recognized by law."[9]

It should be noted that these anti-religious laws were interpreted in different ways at different times according to secret instructions issued by the government to those in charge of implementing the State's anti-religious policies. For example,

from 1918-43 the opening of theological institutions was not permitted. After the relaxation of Soviet anti-religious policy in 1943 (because of the war) 8 seminaries and 2 academies were opened for the Orthodox Church alone. But as a result of the hardening of anti-religious policy during Khrushchev's rule, 5 of the 8 existing seminaries were once again closed. Only two academies and three seminaries now remain open.

In 1932 a five-year plan to eradicate all traces of religion by 1937 was announced. By 1939 only a small percent of the more than 54,000 Orthodox Churches which had been active in 1914 remained open. The number of clergy (through arrest and torture) had been reduced from 50,000 to literally a handful. All 1000 monasteries and convents were closed. By the time WWII broke out, religious life in the Soviet Union virtually disappeared or was driven underground, to reappear when the opportunity presented itself.

The USSR was not prepared for WWII. The beginning of the the war brought defeat to the Soviet armies whose soldiers were being taken prisoner by the tens of thousands. Morale in the nation was at its lowest. Still to fresh in the mind of the populace was the memory of mass collectivization, the purges of the 30's and the vicious persecution of the Church. Millions remained as slaves in the Gulag.

Stalin was desperate. Oddly enough, because of his desperation the Church was granted a second lease on life. Stalin decided to use the Church to raise morale and evoke patriotism by granting concessions to the handful of hierarchs who had survived the persecution in return for their help to support the war effort.

From 1943 until approximately 1960, the Soviets were more or less satisfied with the unconditional cooperation of the Moscow Patriarchate in the field of lending its support to Communist foreign policy and put an end, for a time, to open persecution.

At the same time the authorities created a special institution for the control of the Church - the Committee for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church. Later this committee ceased to function and the Council on Religious Affairs was put into place to oversee the activities of all religious associations in the USSR. The former Committee and now the Council for Religious Affairs controlled and continue to control all appointments of bishops and clergy in general, and gradually began to use representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate and other Christian, Muslim and Jewish denominations for the aims of Soviet foreign policy; this is particularly obvious within the ecumenical movement. In the World Council of Churches the Moscow Patriarchate holds several top positions which it skillfully uses for a variety of reasons beneficial to Soviet foreign policy. First, participation in the activities of the WCC gives the semblence of normalcy of Church-State relations in the Soviet Union. Secondly, Soviet clergymen use the WCC to deflect Western criticism of Soviet expansionist policies. This was evident in 1968 when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia and most recently in the case of Afganistan. The Soviet delegation to the WCC is especially skillful at manipulating representatives from Third World countries, convincing them of the "peace-loving" policies of the Soviet government.

A new wave of persecution against the Church began in 1960.

Khrushchev, apparently alarmed at the inroads religion had been making into Soviet society and to demonstrate his ideological conservatism, launced a new nationwide assault on religion, which became known as the "Khrushchev persecutions". From 1960-1964 anywhere from 10,000-14,000 churches and as many as 50 of the 69 remaining monasteries were closed or destroyed.

During this period the hierarchy of the Church was forced by the Council For Religious Affairs to change the Statute of the Russian Orthodox Church. This resulted in the complete removal of priests from participation in the management or administration of their parishes and in the turning over of these functions to laymen - the "dvadtsatka" or"Council of Twenty". This measure ensured that the infiltration of agents into the parishes was made easier and that large sums of money would be funneled into the so-called "Peace Fund."

Everything that I have thusfar said is clearly illustrated in detail in official and unofficial sources. Secret reports from the years 1971-1976 by the then vice-chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs, Vasily Furov, which total some 100 pages and were leaked by a Soviet "mole", confirm the Soviets' total control of the Church. Likewise, documentary evidence compiled from a different perspective in the late 1970's by the unofficial Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR, headed by the Orthodox priest Fr. Gleb Yakunin, demonstrates this total control with a wealth of examples. (See Appendix D)

Furov's secret reports are of special interest, because they expose most starkly the hypocricy of the official propaganda concerning Church-State relations. On the one hand we are officially told that "the state does not interfere in church affairs." On the other, Furov explains the true situation - that the Council

exercises "constant and unremitting supervision" over the Orthodox Church's ruling Synod, establishing "confidential ties" with each of its members. These members then "excercise the necessary pressure on the entire episcopate." Partly as a result, "not a single consecration of a bishop" occurs without "close coordination with the Council officials... and appropriate organizations" (i.e. the KGB and the Party). Through a vast network of informers, many of whom Furov names and quotes, the Council monitors "what sort of religious activities bishops engage in," and their attitudes "to the Soviet State." Finally, Furov reports, the Council applies to all the bishops named in his secret report its "extensive system of political indoctrination," a system which "is producing positive results." (For entire Furov Report see Appendix C)

***

In conclusion I would add that Christian believers were the first citizens in the USSR who dared publicly to protest the hypocritical use of the liberal slogans of "freedom of conscience" and of "civil rights." Their courage broke the ice. They showed the world that "socialist legality" does not exist in the Soviet Union, and that in the context of a continuing totalitarian structure this will never be allowed to exist.

The Soviet Communist Party has used all the resources of the most formidable state apparatus in history to wrestle for 68 years with the Church and religion. Terror, massive propaganda, and even infiltration of the priesthood by agents of the KGB have been used in an attempt to destroy the Russian Orthodox Church. But it nevertheless survived as a functioning organism which plays a much greater role in the life of the Soviet populace

than might appear at first glance. Indeed, at the present time, when believers in the Soviet Union are preparing to commemorate in 1988 the Millenium of Russian Christianity, the Russian Orthodox Church is experiencing a spiritual revival.

It is my sincere conviction that America's vital interests will be well served if it supports this revival.

NOTES

[1] The Orthodox Monitor, No. 15, 1983, p. 5.

[2] Curtiss, John Shelton, The Russian Church and the Soviet State, 1917-1950, Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1953, p. 44.

[3] V.I. Lenin On Religion: Collection of Articles, 2nd ed. rev., Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966, p. 17.

[4] Szezesniak, Boleslaw, Tr. and ed., The Russian Revolution and Religion; A Collection of Documents Concerning the Suppression of Religion by the Communists, 1917-1925, Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1959, pp. 28-29.

[5] Ibid., p. 31.

[6] Struve, Nikita, Christians in Contemporary Russia, New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1967, pp. 373-379.

[7] Regelson, Lev, TRAGEDIYA RUSSKOY TSERKI (The Tragedy of the Russian Church), Paris: YMCA-Press, 1977, pp. 431-432.

[8] Gsovski, Vladimir, ed. Church and State Behinf the Iron Curtain, New York: Prager, 1955, p. xvi.

[9] Ibid., p. xvii.

APPENDIX A

LEGISLATION RELATING TO RELIGION IN THE SOVIET UNION

1. USSR CONSTITUTION

Article 52. Citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess any religion or not to profess any, and to perform religious worship or to conduct atheist propaganda. The incitement of hostility and hatred in connection with religious dogmas is prohibited. The church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state and the school from the church.

2. CRIMINAL CODE OF THE RSFSR

Article 142. Violation of laws on Separation of Church and State and of Church and School. The violation of laws on the separation of church and state and of school and church shall be punished by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year or by a fine not exceeding 50 rubles.

The same acts committed by a person previously convicted of violation of laws on the separation of church and state and of school and church, as well as organizational activity directed to the commission of such acts, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years.

(The following actions fall within the scope of Article 142 according to a resolution passed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in 1966:

1) Compulsory collections of assessments and taxes for the use of religious associations and their clergy.

2) Preparation for mass distribution or mass distribution of appeals, letters, leaflets and other documents calling for disobedience of the legislation on religous cults.

3) Perpetration of deceptive actions with the goal of arousing religious superstations in the population.

4) Organizing and conducting religious meetings, processions and other ceremonies of the cult which disturb the peace.

5) Organizing and systematic conducting of lessons for the instruction of minors in religion in violation of adopted legislative rules.

6) Refusal to accept citizens for work on in educational institutions; dismissal from employment or expulsion from educational institutions; deprivation of a citizen's unlawful privileges or other significant limitations on the rights of citizens based on their attitude toward religion.

Article 227.. Infringement of Person and Rights of Citizens Under Appearance of Performing Religious Ceremonies. The organizing or directing of a group, the activity of which, carried on under the appearance of preaching religious beliefs and performing religious ceremonies, is connected with the causing of harm to citizens health or with any other infringements of the person or rights of citizens, or with the inducing or citizens to refuse social activity or performance of civic duties, or with the drawing of minors into such group, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding five years of by exile for similar term with or without confiscation of property.

The active participation in the acitvity of a group specified in paragraph one of the present article, or systematic propagande directed at the commission of acts specified therein, shall be punished by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years, or by exile for the same term, or by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year.

Note: If the acts of persons stated in paragraph two of the present article, and the persons themselves, do not represent a great social danger, measures of social pressure may be applied to them.

APPENDIX B

WHAT RELIGIOUS BELIEVERS ARE ARRESTED FOR

Many hundreds of religious believers are arrested each year, but only a small minority are prosecuted. Some are released after investigation, most are dealt with "administratively" — the equivalent of minor motoring offences. Fines of up to 50 roubles (£45/$65) may be imposed for organising or leading unregistered worship. 10-15 days detention can be ordered for failing to obey instructions to disperse when a service is interrupted by militia (police). Many believers suffer "only" bruises from rough handling by police, discrimination in housing, employment or education, or confiscation of precious religious literature.

There are two basic groups of religious prisoners. The first is those sentenced for purely religious activities, such as organising religious meetings for worship or study, teaching religion to children or printing religious literature. These "offences" are covered by two articles of the Criminal Codes of the Soviet republics (see I below).

The second group is those sentenced for other actions arising from their beliefs. These include conscientious objectors (see II below) and those who protest at violations of human rights, including freedom of religion (see III below). In some cases prisoners have been convicted both for religious activities and for protesting at religious persecution. In other cases it is sometimes hard to define the extent to which religious faith has motivated human rights activities. Where there are definite indications of religious sympathies we have given the prisoner the benefit of the doubt.

Prisoners of both groups have also been convicted under articles of the Criminal Codes covering offences that are neither religious nor political, such as "parasitism", or "prohibited trading" (see IV below).

ARTICLES OF THE CRIMINAL CODE OF THE RSFSR (RUSSIAN REPUBLIC)*

I. RELIGIOUS OFFENCES

Article 142. Violation of the laws on the separation of church and state and of school and church.

/1 "is punishable by correctional tasks for a period not exceeding one year or by a fine not exceeding fifty roubles.

/2 "The same actions committed by a person previously sentenced for violating the laws on the separation of church and state and of school and church, and likewise organising activity directed at the commission of such actions are punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period not exceeding three years."

Article 227. Infringement of the person and rights of citizens under the guise of performing religous rituals.

/1 "Organising or leading a group whose activity, carried on under the guise of preaching religious doctrines and performing religious rituals, is connected with causing harm to citizens' health or with other infringements of the person or rights of citizens, or with inciting citizens to refuse to do social activity or to fulfil obligations, and likewise with enticing minors into such a group, is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period not exceeding five years or exile for the same period with or without confiscation of property.

/2 "Active participation in the activity of a group such as described in the first part of this article, and likewise, systematic propaganda directed at the commission of the acts described therein, is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period not exceeding three years or exile for the same period or correctional tasks for a period not exceeding one year."

(By a twist of penal law, article 209 in Ukraine can carry a sentence of five years imprisonment *followed* by five years exile.)

Under Article 142 it is an offence to organise any activity of a religious group and to teach religion to children (except one's own). Article 227, introduced in 1959, was initially directed mainly at Pentecostals. It was soon, however, also applied to Christians of almost all denominations, and even to Buddhists and most recently to Hare Krishna followers and adherents of Yoga. The essential features are "causing harm to health" (frequently stated to result from speaking in tongues by Pentecostals) and "inciting citizens to refuse to do social activity", for example, urging members not to take part in secular cultural activities.

II. MILITARY OFFENCES

Article 80. Evasion of regular call to active military service

"is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period of one to three years."

Article 198-1. Evasion of training courses or musters and of military registration by person subject to military service

"is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding one year."

Article 249. Evasion of military service by maiming or any other method.

(a) The evasion by a person in military service of performance of military duties by causing himself any kind of injury (maiming) or by malingering, forgery of documents or any other deception, or a refusal to perform military duties is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period of three to seven years.

(b) "The same acts committed in wartime or in a combat situation are punishable by death or by deprivation of freedom for a period of five to ten years."

Refusal to be drafted into the armed forces is likely to bring an automatic conviction under article 80, and the military authorities might subsequently repeat the call-up. Under article 249 "a" refusal to swear the military oath (which is unacceptable to many Christians) can be construed as refusal to perform military duties, on the grounds that many duties cannot be performed by soldiers who have not sworn the oath. However, prosecution is not authomatic and Christian soldiers are often transferred to units engaged in construction projects.

People who have become conscientious objectors subsequent to completing military service may refuse to do reservist training and are punished under Article 198-1. Christians and Jews wishing to emigrate may fear that reservist training may block their emigration on the grounds that they have had recent access to military secrets.

III. POLITICAL OFFENCES

Article 64. Treason.

Offences under this article include escaping from the country and "conspiracy for the purpose of seizing power". *Maximum sentence fifteen years plus five years exile or death.*

Article 70. Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

/1 ". . . is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period of six months to seven years, with or without additional exile for a period of two to five years, or by exile for a period of two to five years."

/2 "The same actions committed by a person previously convicted of especially dangerous crimes against the state . . . are punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period of three to ten years with or without additional exile for a period of two to five years."

Article 190-1. Circulation of deliberately false concoctions, slandering the Soviet state and social order.

". . . is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period not exceeding three years, or by correctional tasks for a period not exceeding one year, or by a fine not exceeding one hundred roubles."

Article 70 is applied in cases where fundamental criticism has been made, for example of the USSR's record on human rights, or of the treatment of national minorities. Article 190-1 is frequently applied to believers who have written or spoken of religious persecution or been involved in the circulation of documents detailing violations of religious freedom and other human rights.

IV. OTHER ARTICLES

Article 162. Engaging in a prohibited trade.

/2 "... if committed on a significant scale ... is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period not exceeding four years with or without confiscation of property."

The unofficial printing of religious literature is considered a "prohibited trade".

Article 188-3. Malicious disobedience to the requirements of the administration of a corrective labour institution.

"... by a person serving a sentence of punishment in places of deprivation of liberty, if that person has in the course of a year been punished by transfer to the cells (solitary confinement) or to prison, —

is punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of up to three years.

"the same acts, if committed by an especially dangerous recidivist or by a person convicted of a serious crime, —

is punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of one to five years."

This article, introduced in the RSFSR on 1 October 1983, enables the Soviet authorities to impose an additional period of imprisonment solely on the evidence of camp officials.

Article 190-3. Organisation of, or active participation in, group actions which disrupt public order.

"... is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period not exceeding three years, or by correctional tasks for a period not exceeding one year, or by a fine not exceeding 100 roubles."

This article can be applied when believers assemble in public, for example when locked out of a church or conducting an open-air baptism.

Article 191. Resisting representative of authority or representative of public fulfilling duties of protection of public order.

"... is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding three years, or by correctional tasks for a term not exceeding one year, or by a fine not exceeding 60 roubles."

Article 191-1. Resisting policeman or people's guard (Druzhinnik).

/1 "... is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term not exceeding one year, or by correctional tasks for the same term, or by a fine not exceeding 100 roubles."

2/ "... the same acts committed with violence or the threat of employing violence ... are punishable by deprivation of liberty for a period of one to five years or by corrective labour for a period of one to two years."

These charges are used to justify the breaking up of religious meetings and unprovoked assault on believers.

Article 206. Hooliganism.

"Hooliganism, that is, intentional actions violating public order in a coarse manner and expressing a clear disrespect toward society" ... "is punishable by deprivation of liberty for a term of six months to one year ..."

"Malicious hooliganism, that is, the same actions distinguished in their content by exceptional cynicism or special impudence ... is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a term of one to five years."

Peaceful demonstrations and other non-violent actions may be considered "malicious hooliganism".

Article 209. Malicious evasion of fulfilment of decision concerning arrangement of work and discontinuance of parasitic existence.

"... is punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period not exceeding two years or correctional tasks for the same period."

Some religious believers cannot work because of discrimination, others are supported unofficially by fellow believers. In either case prosecution is possible under this article if work is not found within one month of an order issued to that effect.

Article from Christian Prisoners in the USSR 1985/86, Keston College, Kent, England, 1985

57-154 O - 86 - 3

APPENDIX C

Reprinted from The Orthodox Monitor, Nos. 9-10, 1980, Wash., D.C.

Excerpts from the Report of the Council for Religious Affairs to Members of the CPSU Central Committee: Church Personnel and Measures to Limit Their Activities by Law

[Report signed by V. Furov, Council Deputy Chairman]

The extracts from the 1974 documents were published recently in Paris [Vestnik RKhD No. 130]. The 1974 CRA (Council for Religious Affairs) report gives further proof of the close control exercised by this government body over the whole ecclesiastical organization. In spite of the fact that according to Soviet law the Church is separated from the State, this report, written for the eyes of top Party members only, speaks quite openly of the control which the authorities are seeking to exercise. CRA representatives have regular conversations with priests and bishops, monitor all their words and activities and write reports on them. No bishop is consecrated or transferred without painstaking checking of the candidate by CRA representatives in close cooperation with the appropriate interested organization. The report claims that the CRA is working in the best interests of the Soviet state, and says that it is interested chiefly in the political implications of the activities of churchmen. In practice, this means that the CRA tries to discourage any activity by churchmen, even activity of a purely religious nature. "The CRA is interested above all in the political aspect: how the episcopate relates to the Soviet State and to its domestic and foreign policies, and the laws about religion, and what kind of religious activity the hierarchs engage in." This report is being reprinted with the kind permission of The Samizdat Bulletin, San Mateo, Calif.

* * * * *

CONTENTS

From the Editor [of Vestnik RKhD--Herald of the Russian Christian Movement]

1. The Composition of the Episcopacy of the Russian Orthodox Church, and Intensification of Political Work with It in the Interests of the State

2. The Parish Clergy

3. The Training of Clergymen in Theological Schools [reproduced in its entirety]

4. The Publishing Activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Zhurnal Moskovskoy Patriarkhii [Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate]

5. Executive Organs, Cashier's Office, Violations of the Law, and Interference by Clergy into the Administrative and Financial Activities of Religious Societies

From the Editor [of Vestnik RKhD]

The report of the Council for the Affairs of the Orthodox Church to members of the CPSU Central Committee speaks for itself. The Council admits in black and white that it controls the Church, that it is in fact striving to control it at all levels from the Patriarch himself to the church warden at the candle counter. What the Council demands of the clergy is not civilian loyalty to the powers that be, but maximum passiveness and, in a sense, treachery toward one's vocation. The list of bishops ranked according to this criterion would amaze many, and force them to reexamine some hasty judgments and condemnations.

But even this internal, confidential document does not tell the whole truth. Addressed to the many members of the CPSU Central Committee (there are about 500 of them including their deputies), it offers them the official version of communist propaganda: the Church is dying out on its own, without direct persecution on the part of the authorities. This lie steals in through a table showing the number of clergymen. Were we to take 1959 as our year of reference (rather than 1961)--that is, the era of Khrushchev's purges, the decrease in the priesthood would be reckoned at 75 percent (in 2 years it was reduced from 20,000 to 7,000), and it would not be explainable by natural causes. The table shows a significant decline between 1961 and 1967, but the fact that the decrease occurs mostly in the last years of the purges is not indicated. The Council needed this trick in order to show its activities to the members of the CPSU Central Committee in a favorable light. Without violating the law, it says, the Council is able to reduce the number of clergymen.... Such misinformation begins at the highest levels: members of the Central Committee are presented information railroaded through in a contrived manner under the label of official ideology.

In essence this report convicts only the totalitarian essence of the system, and it turns around in favor of the Church. The fact that the Church continues to exist and develop in such inhuman conditions attests, first of all, to its strength.

* * * * *

1. The Composition of the Episcopacy of the Russian Orthodox Church, and Intensification of Political Work with It in the Interests of the State

The episcopacy is one of the main executive bodies of the Russian Orthodox Church, "without the will of which elders and deacons can do nothing." Being a special, supreme level of the church hierarchy, the episcopacy enjoys considerable authority in the Russian Orthodox Church even today. However, it should be kept in mind that under the new special conditions, in the Soviet state, the episcopacy has been deprived of many of its former privileges, and its activities are limited by the specific bounds of legislation on religious worship.

The supreme power in the Russian Orthodox Church lies with the local council, which convenes as necessary with the participation of the entire episcopacy as well as representatives of the clergy and faithful laymen. The patriarch controls the church jointly with the Synod, which contains six permanent members. The Synod is under the control of the Council. The selection and placement of its permanent members has been and continues to be wholly within the power of the Council, and candidates for the nonpermanent membership slots must also be coordinated initially with Council executives. All issues to be brought up at the Synod are discussed beforehand by Patriarch Pimen and the Synod's permanent members with the executive board of the Council and its departments, and the final "Decisions of the Holy Synod" are coordinated as well.

Exercising permanent and unweakening control over the activities of the Synod, Council executives conduct systematic education-explanatory work with members of the Synod, establish confidential ties with them, shape patriotic viewpoints and predispositions, and through the latter and with their help they exercise the necessary influence upon the entire episcopacy.

In the early 1960's the Russian Orthodox Church had 73 dioceses within the USSR, headed by bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans. Their number declined subsequently: there were 67 dioceses in 1974, and 58 ruling bishops.

Observations covering a period of many years and deep analysis of the sentiments of the ruling bishops would once again confirm that the episcopacy is loyal to Soviet rule. At the same time the episcopacy could be subdivided, conditionally and highly approximately, into the following groups in terms of their viewpoints on society, on the laws of religious worship, on the modern church and its mutual relationships with the state, and on their civilian obligations.

The first group contains ruling bishops who, in their words and deeds, confirm not only loyalty but also patriotism in relation to socialist society, complying strictly with the laws of religious worship, and who indoctrinate the parish clergy and believers in the same spirit; bishops in this group are realistically aware that our state is not interested in elevating the role of religion and church in society, and understanding this, they do not display any special aggressiveness in broadening the influence of Orthodoxy in the population.

The second group contains ruling bishops who take a loyal stance towards the state, relate properly to the laws on religious worship, and comply with them, but strive in their daily administrative and ideological activities to encourage

greater activity of worshippers and active church members, favor growth in the role of the church in personal, family, and social life by means of modernized or traditional conceptions, viewpoints, and actions, and recruit young people and zealous adherents to orthodox piety for ecclesiastical service.

The third group is represented by that part of the episcopacy which has from time to time attempted, and is presently attempting, to evade the laws on religious worship; some of them are religiously conservative, others will not stop at falsifying the situation in the diocese and the attitudes held toward them by the authorities, and still others have been noted to attempt bribing Council representatives and slander local government officials.

The episcopacy may also be classified in relation to other assessments of concrete individuals, for example in terms of their traditionalism and modernism, the role played by a given bishop in spreading the Orthodox faith, and other differences in the ideological spectrum. However, the Council is interested mainly in the political aspect: how the episcopacy relates to the Soviet state, to its domestic and foreign policy, and to the laws on religious worship, and what sort of religious activities bishops engage in. In general, evaluations of the episcopacy must be cautious. Not all segments of the episcopacy fit neatly into some single scheme. Thus even the classification we suggest here is rather conditional; the boundaries between the different categories are fluid, and they depend on a large number of circumstances, mainly on constant, fundamental political work with bishops, maintenance of a firm course toward formation of patriotic convictions, and not just loyalty to the state, and development of their understanding of not only the political but also the ideological interests of the state, in both foreign and domestic policy.

The Council and its local representatives devote constant and unweakening attention to studying the composition and activities of not only members of the Synod but also the episcopacy at large. Not a single consecration into the episcopacy, and not a single transfer occurs without meticulous examination of the persons in question by Synod officials in close coordination with representatives, local organs, and the appropriate interested organizations.

It should be kept in mind that in recent years, consecration into the episcopacy has been performed primarily with a consideration for the fact that the new bishops are appointed to work abroad, and subsequently, upon their return, as pupils within the country. In correspondence with this, we impose certain requirements, make certain suggestions, and express certain wishes to the patriarch and members of the Synod. They in turn present these tasks, in a particular form, to the new bishops at the time of their consecration.

In recent years we have developed a clear and extensive system for indoctrinating the episcopacy, and through it the common clergy, in a political aspect, and for shaping patriotism, civilian duty, and respect for the laws and activities of the Soviet government without them. And this is producing positive results.

Many examples could be cited revealing how constant political work with the bishops is reducing their political activity. At the same time it should always be remembered that while the episcopacy and the common clergy are becoming increasingly more patriotic with every year, trying to demonstrate this not only in word but also in deed, in the ideological aspect religion has always rested on foundations alien to Marxism, and will continue to do so. Moreover a certain

ambivalence can often be noted in some statements by certain hierarchs concerning the social processes.

The obvious contradictions in the speeches made by church hierarchs and in their approach to social and, consequently, political issues elicit considerable bewilderment, and what is most important, they confuse the faithful.

The Council for Religious Affairs maintains information on each bishop. We systematically receive personal reports on them from the representatives. It is now an established procedure for diocesan administrators to visit the Council each year when they travel to the patriarchate with their reports. They are subjected to a thorough interview. Their attitudes and the state of affairs in the diocese are revealed. However, political work with this influential category of clergymen must be improved in every possible way. Our work with the episcopacy solves many problems; it serves the interests of the state.

2. The Parish Clergy

Clergymen employed in the parishes (priests, deacons, readers) enjoy a status directly dependent on the position they occupy on the hierarchical ladder. They are directly subordinated to the ruling bishop, but at the same time they are on hire to the religious community, and they sign a contract of religious service with its executive organ.

Clergymen propagate dogma, and they have a direct influence upon the faithful. The Council for Religious Affairs and its representatives systematically study the clergymen, they hold personal interviews with them, and they indoctrinate them in the spirit of respect for Soviet law; all political work with the clergy is in the interests of the state.

Secularization and other positive processes, abandonment of religion by large blocks of the public, and a weakening in the position of the church are also having an influence on the composition of the clergy. Here are data showing the numbers of priests and deacons in the last 13 years.

	1961	1967	1971	1974	1974 as % of 1961
Priests	8,252	6,694	6,234	5,994	70.2
Deacons	809	653	618	594	70.3
Total	9,061	7,347	6,852	6,588	70.2

An analysis of the table would permit a number of conclusions.

First, the number of priests and deacons in the Russian Orthodox Church decreased in the last few years by 2,473 persons--that is, by almost 30 percent.

Second, the number of priests dropped not only in the 1960's, but subsequently as well; thus in 4 years (1971-1974) their strnegth dropped by 240 persons.

Third, despite graduation of new clergymen from theological seminaries and ordination of local activists by bishops, the absolute decline of priests and deacons averaged 190 units per year; in the last 4 years the rate of numerical decline, even though it did decrease, still maintained itself at an annual average of 66 units, which indicates that not only are the churches unable to expand the clergy, but they are also simply unable to replenish their losses.

Fourth, there are now fewer priests than there are churches. Thus as of 1 January 1975 there were 7,062 registered churches, but only 5,994 priests. The lack of personnel is one of the reasons behind the transformation occurring in the activities of many religious associations. Some priests now render services to two and even three churches concurrently.

Our requirements upon clergymen permitted to make contacts with foreigners are growing in connection with the growth of foreign tourism and of the certain amount of interest being shown by foreign citizens in the status of religion and the Church in the USSR. It should be stated that for the most part they justify this trust.

The Council and its representatives constantly subject the clergy to indoctrination and to explanatory-preventive work in close association with local government organs, trying not only to keep the clergy within the bounds of the laws but also to reduce its activity, to limit its influence upon the faithful.

Some clergymen attempting to intensify their influence upon the faithful go as far as openly violating the laws on religious worship, and in some cases even usurping power over the parish with the help of close friends.

A certain fraction of the clergy violated the laws on religious worship last year. Various forms and methods are used to surmount this phenomenon. One of the most effective resources is that of encouraging ruling bishops to participate in this work.

Thus, for example, following a study conducted last year by Council officials of the status of surveillance over compliance with religious worship laws in the Moscow Oblast [Region], during which cases of interference by priests in the financial and administrative affairs of the executive organs of religious associations were established, Metropolitan Seraphim Krutitsky and Kolomensky was invited to the Council.

During the interview, Metropolitan Seraphim was made aware of concrete examples of illegal actions by clergy subordinated to him in the Moscow diocese, and recommendations on correcting the violations of socialist legality were offered to him.

On 13 November 1974 Metropolitan Seraphim held a discussion with his deans at the administrative office of the diocese, and on 14 December he sent them a letter on the same topic, which stated in particular:

"I feel it necessary to turn the attention of the deans of the Moscow diocese to the violations of Soviet legislation on religious worship and of church discipline still being committed by certain clergymen of the diocesan parishes.

"The most serious violation is the tendency of some church rectors to interfere in the administrative and financial activities of the parish executive organs....

"Some rectors still make occasional attempts to violate the decision of the 1961 Council of Bishops in detriment to the welfare of the parish, to relieve the executive organ from its financial and administrative activities, to manage the affairs of the parish alone, and to achieve the possibility for personally handling the Church's financial assets (facts are subsequently presented on Archpriest P. Afonsky of the village of Orud'yevo, Father A. Korobeynikov of the village of Karpovo, and A. Naumov of the village of Tatarintsevo).

"Strict disciplinary sanctions will be imposed against violators of the law who henceforth interfere in the administrative and financial activities of a parish.

"Priests have on occasion violated the rules of performing religious rites at home at the request of believers. It must be remembered that Communion may be offered and rites may be performed only for individual patients, and not groups.

"...the mystery of baptism---is permitted only in churches, and not in the homes. Whosoever is discovered to act in opposition to my instructions will be expelled if he is a clergyman and excommunicated if he is a layman.

"A priest does not have the right to baptize juveniles without the mutual consent of the father and mother of the child to be baptized.

"If a priest delivers sermons, the sermons must be strictly Orthodox in their content, explaining biblical passages or the Epistles in the spirit of their interpretation by the Holy Fathers and teachers of the Church. Sermons must not contain any political or social issues or examples.

"Deans must explain, to priests serving the parishes of their deaneries, that their strict compliance with civil law and church discipline is their duty as both pastors of the Russian Orthodox Church and citizens of our great motherland."

There are persons among the clergy who had been convicted in the past for various crimes, who have harbored malice against Soviet rule, and who utilize religious organizations for the purposes of inciting mistrust of and hostility toward atheists and the socialist state.

Included among them is Father Dimitri S. Dudko, born 1922, who was sentenced to 10 years in a corrective labor camp on the basis of Article 58-10 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. It was established during the investigation performed in those years that over a number of years, Dudko, who exhibited anti-Soviet leanings, wrote, stored, and disseminated, among close friends, verses and stories containing malicious, slanderous allusions to the policy of the CPSU, to Soviet realities, and to kolkhoz development. He made appeals to fight against godlessness, which he identified with Soviet rule.

Released from prison in 1956, Dudko became a priest in the churches of Moscow. According to available information, in subsequent years he continued to write lampoons and sermons of slanderous nature, he processed young people in an ideologically harmful spirit, and he possessed and disseminated "samizdat" as well as literature obtained from abroad.

Local government organs held preventive discussions with Father Dudko several times, cautioning him that he was engaging in antisocial activity, that he

was clustering young people around him, and that he was processing them ideologically and spreading politically harmful literature among them.

However, Father Dudko did not make the proper conclusions for himself and began giving provocative sermons at the Church of Nikolai Chudotvorets [Church of St. Nicholas the Wonder-Worker], Moscow, Preobrazhenskaya Street.

Thus, for example, on 20 April 1974 he gave the following sermon:

"The atheists have capitalized upon our fear of suffering and are now suppressing our spirit, they are suppressing free thinking and feelings, and they are scolding us. We must surmount this fear of suffering, and then we will become truly free, viable, and invincible. Then we will surmount the refutations of Christ's resurrection the atheists compel us to accept. Faith means surmounting all compulsion. Faith means slipping past the spearpoints blocking our path... Faithlessness means lack of freedom in everything.

"...we must offer the kiss of peace to those students who are barred from institutes for their religious convictions, to those who are expelled from their jobs, who are pursued by dozens of persecutors... The times are such that we must embolden ourselves, that we must shout the warnings of danger. People are dying.

"...atheism is to be feared, since it is more terrible than the plague... I believe that anyone who one way or another wrests a person's faith, his faith in God, away from him is a criminal. We must remember that faith represents a battle. The Christian cannot and must not stand aside when all is dying about him."

With the consent of the appropriate organs we worked as required with Patriarch Pimen and Metropolitan Seraphim Krutitsky and Kolomensky, who took steps to transfer Father Dudko from Moscow to Orekhovo-Zuyevsky region in the Moscow suburbs. Metropolitan Seraphim held two substantial talks with Father Dudko, after which the latter declared in writing: *"I promise to avoid topics in my sermons that could be interpreted as political, to one degree of another, I will preach on biblical subjects, explaining to the people the essence of Christian truths."*

It should be noted that it was on 20 April 1974 that Father Dudko gave the provocative sermon cited above, and it was as early as 10 May that the newspaper NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO (USA) published a long article entitled "A Priest Is Gagged," which stated in particular:

"Father Dimitri praised the scientific achievements of the Soviet Union, but he expressed condemnation of the population's moral and spiritual decline in the Soviet regime's 50 years, and he appealed to his audience to return to the faith.

"Last Saturday, after finishing his sermon, Father Dimitri announced that on instructions from Patriarch Pimen, it was necessary for him to terminate his customary discussions after the service. Parishioners and other people who had come for the discussion, about 500 of them, were forced to disperse. Those who came included a large number of relatively young people aged from 25 to 35 years.

"Persons attending his sermons in church included in previous times the writer Solzhenitsyn and his wife, the writer Vladimir Maximov, who is also presently abroad, and others."

Thus utilizing the loyal hierarchs of the Church, we were able to remove Father Dudko from the staff of the Moscow clergy. He is not displaying his anti-Soviet viewpoints for the moment in his new place.

3. The Training of Clergymen in Theological Schools

An analysis showed that the training of clergymen in theological educational institutions is in no way able to compensate for the natural decline of the clergy. The ruling bishops express growing alarm in their writings on this topic.

Archbishop Antony of Chernigov and Nezhin communicated the following in his 1974 report to the patriarchate:

"The Chernigov diocese had an acute need for priests throughout all of last year. The diocese did not receive a single priest from the Educational Committee of the Moscow Patriarchate during the year, and only one priest was transferred from other dioceses. The aging priests are retiring. Many die. The parishes are forced to seek the services of priests already possessing other parishes. Many parishes remain entirely unattended. Out of 148 societies of the faithful, 49 have no rectors."

He is in a sense seconded by Archbishop Bogolep of Kirovograd and Nikolayev, who writes:

"Forty percent of the Kirovograd diocese is serviced by extremely old clergymen. Many priests are of retirement age, and they serve in the parishes only out of necessity. Among them, about 10 are barely able to perform their pastoral responsibilities due to poor health.

"The dioceses need young personnel, young candidates for the clergy from among those graduating from our theological educational institutions, who are sent very rarely to the Kirovograd diocese."

The critical personnel situation can be observed everywhere--in the Ukraine and Belorussia, in the Baltic republics, and in the overwhelming majority of the RSFSR's oblasts [regions].

Archbishop Mikhail of Tambov in Michurinsk communicated the following in his report to the patriarchate for last year:

"...the main problem complicating the life of the diocese is the shortage of clergymen, which has been felt now for a number of years. Equally distressing is the shortage of readers and choir directors, which is having an unfavorable effect on the beauty of church services."

It should be noted that as in previous years, the children of clergymen do not wish to enroll in theological schools, and they have no desire to dedicate their lives to God, enrolling instead in secular educational institutions.

Council Representative for Zakarpatskaya Oblast Comrade Sleslenko writes:

"The children of clergymen graduate from educational institutions and organize their work careers within specialties they select. Thus for example the family of Father Roman (Repinnoye) has six children: Ivan is a senior lieutenant in the Soviet Army, a member of the CPSU, and he serves in Rostov, Yaroslavskaya Oblast; Mikhail is a therapist in Nadvorna, Ivanovo-Frankovskaya Oblast; Vasily is an engineer at the Lenin Plant, Maydan, Mezhgorsky Region, Zakarpatskaya Oblast; Marta is a philologist at a school in Vinogradovo, Zakarpatskaya Oblast; Magdalina is a physician at the Uzhgorod Tuberculosis Clinic; Anna is a third-year student at Uzhgorod University.

"The family of Father M. Yu. Keliz, Kopashnevo, Khustsky Region, has seven children: Vera is a cook at a nursery school in Kopashnevo; Yevgenia is a bookkeeper at a dining hall in Kopashnevo; Vladimir is a surgeon in Ivanovo-Frankovskaya Oblast; Pyotr is chief engineer at a construction organization in Khust; Olga lives in Czechoslovakia and is working at a poultry factory together with her husband; Nadezhda is a pharmacist in Moscow Oblast; and Yustina is a bookkeeper for the Ministry of Construction in Khust, where she is taking correspondence courses at the state university.

"The children of other clergymen study and gain employment in approximately the same way."

The principal training base for the clergy consists of the seminaries in Moscow, Leningrad, and Odessa and the academies in Moscow and Leningrad, but even they are no longer capable of averting the intensifying crisis with priests and deacons.

In 1974, 134 persons graduated from the seminaries and academies, and 78 were sent to the parishes. In a total of 3 years (1972-1974), meanwhile, theological educational institutions conferred degrees upon 367 persons, and 219 persons were sent to the parishes.

The following numbers of persons were enrolled in the 1974-1975 school year in theological schools:

Educational Institutions	I	II	III	IV	Total	I	II	III	IV	Total
Moscow Seminary	50	41	48	32	171	--	--	--	--	--
Leningrad Seminary	28	31	31	29	119	--	--	--	--	--
Odessa Seminary	30	30	28	30	118	--	--	--	--	--
Moscow Academy	--	--	--	--	--	29	30	11	16	96
Leningrad Academy	--	--	--	--	--	19	15	14	15	62
Total:	108	102	107	91	408	48	45	25	31	158

As in previous years, graduates of the seminaries and academies try to obtain parishes for themselves in city and regional centers, doing everything they can to avoid the rural parishes.

As in previous years, Council representatives took steps jointly with local government agencies to bar the admission of fanatics, extremists, and mentally ill persons to theological schools. Thus for example those barred from examinations for the Moscow Seminary included:

N. M. Lapin, born 1939, machine operator at a chemical plant, from Kuibyshev, graduated from the Institute of International Relations, exhibits mental deviations, expelled from the party in 1972. In the future, in his own words, he intends "*to introduce a reform into the Orthodox Church*";

I. G. Kucherenko, born 1946, an engineer at the Promsvyaz' Plant in Maykop, expressed anti-Soviet sentiments, was arrested in 1971 near the American Embassy in Moscow as he attempted to gain entry. In 1973 Kucherenko was called in by competent organs for preventive discussion;

V. D. Popovich, born 1944, served in one of the churches of Ivano-Frankovskaya Oblast Ukrainian SSR. In 1956 he was convicted for stealing kolkhoz grain; during the German occupation his father served in an SS division, and his sister was convicted for maintaining ties with Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists;

M. Zelenkin, born 1950, vacuum technology specialist of the Scientific Research Institute of Rubber and Latex Products (Moscow), Komsomol member.

Those barred from admission to the Odessa Seminary included: Ye. S. Strateychuk from Ivano-Frankovskaya Oblast, who has close ties with his uncle, a former follower of Bandera who fled to England to escape punishment; P. M. Kudmin from the same oblast, who has ties abroad. D.S. Lysak, born 1947, from Pokrovka, Ternopol'skaya Oblast, a rural soviet deputy, attempted to enroll in the seminary.

Council Representative for Odesskaya Oblast Comrade Gavrilov writes:

"Some citizens of western oblasts, in order to conceal damaging evidence, move to the eastern oblasts where they gain temporary employment, and from there submit applications to the seminary. Thus citizen N. S. Gosinets submitted an application from Arkhangel'skaya Oblast, but an investigation revealed that he was a resident of Lvovskaya Oblast, and that he was infected by the spirit of the Uniats [Uniat = Christian of an Eastern rite submitting to the Pope]; *nationalistically predisposed, Z. S. Furilets attempted to enter the seminary as a laborer from Dnepropetrovsk, while in fact he is a resident of Lvovskaya Oblast."*

The Council has taken steps to limit enrollment in theological institutions by persons from western oblasts of the Ukraine, and it is curbing attempts by persons with undesirable attitudes to gain admission as students. It is concurrently utilizing the existing possibilities for bettering the citizenship qualities of academy and seminary graduates and instructors. This work is being accomplished in various ways.

First, with the help of the church hierarchs themselves, and the administrators of the theological schools.

Thus, for example, Patriarch Pimen wrote the following on 14 October 1974 in an address to the Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary:

"It would not be excessive for me today to recall to the theological schools the necessity I am perpetually bringing up, of nurturing future pastors of the Church in the spirit of patriotism, which is the moral foundation of state unity and the power of our worldly fatherland. Fortunately our theological schools have done everything they can in this regard, and they are continuing to pursue an age-old historic tradition of the Russian Orthodox Church: 'Always be close to the people.'

"Thus we arrive at a definition of the main task of our seminaries and academies: to provide their students with a clear impression as to what the Orthodox pastor should be if he is to tend his flock 'with knowledge and wisdom' (John, 3.15) 'neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock' (I Peter 5.3)."

In 1974 the Moscow Theological Academy celebrated its 160th anniversary, and 14 June of that same year was the 30th anniversary of the reopening of Moscow's theological schools. In this connection the opening day of the school year, 2 September 1974, was celebrated especially solemnly in the Moscow schools (seminaries and academies); prominent hierarchs and theologians of the Russian Orthodox Church who had graduated in their time from these educational institutions were invited. The rector, Archbishop Vladimir, said the following in his introduction (message of edification):

"...through the words and lives of its best representatives, the Church has appealed, and continues to appeal to us, to always be with our people, to be patriots of our motherland, since a poor citizen of the Earthly Fatherland cannot be a good citizen of the Heavenly Fatherland. As you create the paradisical church organism, the body of Christ's Church, never forget that you are one bone and one flesh with the Russian people, a great people, a creative people. Be their worthy sons, preserve and multiply the glorious traditions of your people, and serve their welfare and fruition."

Such statements by Patriarch Pimen and Rector Vladimir are the result of constant and persistent work by the Council with the hierarchs.

Relying upon the rectorate, the Council maintains its influence upon many aspects of the activities of the theological schools, encouraging development of patriotism and a love for the Soviet motherland in their students. The forms and methods of our influence include: participation in the selection and placement of administrators and instructors at theological schools, examination of training aids in the seminaries and academies, as required by the USSR Constitution, introduction of courses on USSR history, expansion of cultural and educational measures, and review of training manuals in a number of religious subjects in the interests of the state. It stands to reason that all of this is done by the church officials themselves.

Thus for example in December 1974 Metropolitan Alexei, chairman of the educational committee of the Moscow patriarchate, submitted a proposal to the Council of introducing into the theological schools, study programs supplementing the subjects of the course "Moral Theology," which included the following subjects in particular:

Peace--the Highest Meaning of the Community of Man;
International Peace, the Moral Task of Christians and All People of Goodwill;

Motives of War: Aggressive Wars, Wars of Liberation, Defensive Wars;
Labor for the Good of People and Nations;
Participation in Consolidation of the Soviet Peace Fund--a Practical Possibility for Parishes, Clergy, and Believers to Bear Witness to Their Patriotic Feelings and Take Part in Consolidation of Peace on Earth, and Development of Friendship and Mutual Understanding Among Nations.

The program devotes a great deal of attention to explaining the moral obligations of believers in relation to their people and the state. For the first time the following subjects will be studied:

True Patriotism, Love of One's Fatherland as a Natural Need of Our Heart;
The Sacred Nature of Military Duty and Selfless Labor for the Good of Our People and the State;
Strict Compliance with the Laws of the Country, and Full Cooperation in Its Improvement and Fruition;
Indoctrination of the Flock in the Spirit of Love for the Motherland, Soviet Patriotism, and an Honest, Conscientious Attitude Toward Labor For the Good of the Fatherland--the Task of the Orthodox Pastor;
The Soviet Motherland and the Soviet Citizen Defined.

Thus this complex of measures, which include the study of the USSR Constitution and USSR history in theological schools, implementation of various cultural and educational measures, and introduction of new supplementary subjects into the program for the moral theology course, is providing a possibility for influencing, to a certain extent, the future clergy in the direction we require, and for broadening its theoretical and practical knowledge in the spirit of materialism. And this, from our point of view, will undermine the religious-mystical ideals of the future pastor; in addition to other objective and subjective factors, this may lead to an understanding of the true uselessness of the clergy.

On 23 December 1974, during the Council's reception of Archbishop Vladimir, rector of the Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary, he informed us rather thoroughly on the plan for celebrating the 30th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany. A large number of functions are to be conducted in the next half year on behalf of instructors and students of the theological schools: lectures, discussions, meetings with Great Patriotic War veterans, evening discussions, film showings, excursions to Moscow's theaters and museums, discussion of television programs, and so on. Archbishop Vladimir said:

"We would want the preparations for and the conduct of the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the victory to proceed in the theological schools triumphantly, joyfully, and emotionally, and we would want the celebrations to have a good influence upon the patriotic indoctrination of the students.

"You are aware that there are still many young people among our students holding negative viewpoints on Earthly life, having been brought up by fanatic grandmothers and parents. These viewpoints must be corrected. We are troubled by the fact that among our correspondence students--today's clergymen, there are still rather large numbers of people with backward and even hostile viewpoints, which they skillfully conceal, revealing them only within our circle.

"We proclaim our task to be to utilize the examination period to intensify indoctrination and formation of Soviet patriotism, citizenship, and a sense of duty to the people, state, and motherland."

Second, other possibilities are utilized for the purposes of patriotic indoctrination of future pastors. Council representatives are conducting systematic political work among instructors and students of theological schools with the help of local government organs, utilizing personal and confidential interviews for this purpose and assisting the school administrations in acquisition of lecturers and movies, and in the conduct of other public cultural and educational functions.

Thus for example the following lectures were given in the Odessa Seminary:

"The Successes of the CPSU and Soviet Government in the Struggle to Implement the Peace Program Written by the 24th Party Congress";
"V. I. Lenin and the Cultural Revolution";
"Nurturing the New Man--the Most Important Task of Communist Development";
"Lenin's Teaching on Communist Morality and the Fundamental Principles of Moral Indoctrination";
"The Unity of Party and People--the Key to All Victories of Communist Development";
"Domestic and Foreign Policy of the CPSU--an Expression of the People's Basic Interests" etc.

Council Representative for Odesskaya Oblast Comrade Gavrilov reports:

"Political briefings on current events within the country and abroad are given daily in the seminary. One lecture-discussion entitled 'The World Map Today' and another entitled 'The Map of the Motherland Today' are scheduled and conducted each month. Soviet art films and newsreels are shown each week at the seminary, and visits to Odessa's museums are organized on days off and Sundays. It has become common practice in the seminary to convene all seminary students each day at 9 o'clock in the evening in the reading room at the television set to watch the 'Time' program."

The annual report of the administration of the Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary states that:

"During the school year the students had a possibility for participating in cultural measures, for visiting the TsAK--our religious-archeological museum, for viewing motion pictures, and for attending lectures and reports on particular noteworthy dates and events in the life of our state.

"In particular, correspondence students were able to attend a lecture cycle given by Doctor of Legal Sciences, Professor V. S. Krylov, on the subject of 'Soviet Legislation on Religious Worship.'"

Shortcomings also still do exist in surveillance over admissions to theological schools, and in political work among future pastors; it must be improved further, and processes occurring in the seminaries and academies must be studied more deeply.

In a discussion with Council Representative for Kalininskaya Oblast Comrade Mantgay, Bishop Germogen stated the following opinion.

"There are two categories of our clergy--representatives of the Zagorsk and Leningrad theological schools. Unfortunately, the former include many obscurantists, fools, and fanatics. The latter are dominated by soberly thinking people. This can be explained in many ways by the atmosphere reigning in the MDA [Moscow Theological Academy] *and the MDS* [Moscow Theological Seminary] *on one hand and in the LDA* [Leningrad Theological Academy] *and the LDS* [Leningrad Theological Seminary] *on the other. Four years, and in some cases 8 years within the monastery cannot but have an influence upon the individual's psychology."*

"Information in my possession," writes Comrade Mantgay, *"to a certain extent confirms the conclusion reached by Germogen: There are in fact more fanatics, people with unhealthy attitudes, and violators of the law among graduates of the MDA and MDS.*

"The efforts of Bishop Germogen continue to be directed at encouraging church activity in every possible way."

These facts permitted us to undertake a number of concrete steps to intensify surveillance over selection of students at the Moscow Seminary. (Permanent admission commissions have been created in the theological schools.) We organize confidential interviews with instructors, and so on.

It should be noted at the same time that Bishop Germogen, and other bishops, have a tendency to promote their theological school in Leningrad, while in relation to the Moscow school they offer a negative opinion. On the other hand "graduates of Moscow's theological schools" state opposite opinions in relation to the Leningrad schools.

In our opinion neither group of theological schools is better than the other in the ideological and the religious aspects. Statements by their administrators offer eloquent support to this opinion. Thus for example on 1 September 1974 Metropolitan Nikodim instructed students of the Leningrad Seminary and Academy as follows:

"It is already time for you to begin asking yourself why you have come here.... Remember that every day spent here without reason impoverishes the soul." He appealed to the future pastors: *"Maintain your vigil, insist upon your faith, be courageous and firm."*

On 2 September 1974 Bishop Vladimir said the following in a statement to students of the Moscow Seminary:

"Never forget your goal. Let its noble light not be shut out by the darkness of sin, daily cares, and life's minor troubles. Love your theological school, and cherish it...

"The Church bears witness that besides our Earthly Motherland, there exists an Immortal, Heavenly Motherland."

These are only two examples showing that the administrators of the theological schools are trying to indoctrinate pastors in the spirit of "courageous,

firm faith, and even of rejection of life on Earth, renunciation "of the darkness of sin, daily cares, and life's minor troubles," and to direct their thoughts toward the "Immortal, Heavenly Motherland." Thus both of these "spiritual leaders" pursue church interests first of all. In their words they oppose mysticism, while in their deeds they sow it constantly.

The educational committee of the Moscow patriarchate wrote the following in the minutes of its 16 January 1975 meeting, in which it discussed the work of the Council of the Moscow Theological Academy and Seminary in the 1973-1974 school year, particularly the results of the judging of 31st year's Candidate [DD = Doctor of Divinity] dissertations:

"The content of the majority of them [the reviews] *astrounds the reader by the excessive leniency of the reviewers toward serious flaws in the works being reviewed which are nevertheless recognized to be sufficient to award their authors the Candidate of Theology* [DD] *degree. Thus last year's graduating class of the MDA* [Moskovskaya Dukhovnaya Akademia = Moscow Theological Academy], *which consisted of 24 students, received the Candidate degree almost in its entirety, in which case four students never submitted dissertations. Does such 'generosity' of the Academic Council, which covers up the general and theological underdevelopment of some graduates, not serve only to embellish their vanity, and does it not do harm to the theological academy's prestige?"*

The 1973-1974 school year was the eleventh year of the existence of the MDA's postgraduate program, which initially offered a one-year training course, and beginning in 1963 a three-year course. The postgraduate program was created for the training of persons for work abroad. There were 13 persons in the postgraduate program at the beginning of the 1973-1974 school year, to include seven in the first year, one in the second, and five in the third. Four persons were dropped from the enrollment for various reasons during the school year, while four persons completed the full postgraduate program. Postgraduate students studied the following courses during the school year: "Local Orthodox Churches and Foreign Institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church," "The Roman Catholic Church," "Protestantism and "The Ecumenical Movement" in English or German (by choice). Lecture courses are given in philosophy, the history of philosophy, recent philosophy, foreign literature, international organizations, and diplomatic protocol.

There were 510 persons enrolled with the correspondence studies sector of the MDA and the seminary in the 1973-1974 school year; however, there were 535 persons at the examination sessions. Forty-five persons completed their fourth year at the seminary, while 19 persons completed their fourth year at the academy, and only two graduated with a Candidate of Theology [DD] degree. Moreover this degree had been conferred upon four actual graduates of previous years.

Journal No. 2 of the Synod's educational committee contained the following entry for 16 January 1975:

"Thirty-six correspondence students were dropped during the school year, such that as of 11 June 1974 there were the following numbers of students enrolled in the correspondence studies sector: In the seminary--252 persons (first year: 46, second: 36, third: 98, fourth: 72). In the academy--159 persons (first year: 40, second: 44, third: 51, fourth: 24). In all, 411 persons."

It became known to us that many ruling bishops are exerting increasingly greater pressure upon the patriarchate's educational committee, striving to strengthen the clergy with graduates from the theological schools. Cases of bishops enticing senior students and ordaining them have occurred. Such ordinations prior to graduation from theological school included that of a certain L. Novikov, 37 years old, invited by Bishop Germogen to serve in the Kalinin diocese. In an interview with the Council representative, L. Novikov said that he *"graduated from the Gorky Art School. He had been a member of the Komsomol. He served in the internal troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs* [the MVD]. *After the army, he worked in Kirovskaya Oblast as a drawing teacher in school. His deliberations of the imperfections and incompleteness of scientific data, and of the numerous incomprehensible mysteries of the surrounding world compelled him to seek admission to a theological seminary. His wife graduated from the conservatory, and she did not stand in the way of her husband's intention of entering the seminary. She now serves as a reader in the same church."*

In December of last year Mikhail Gertsev, 38 years old, was ordained as a priest in the same diocese:

"Following graduation from secondary school he enrolled in the history department of Moscow University, in which he completed his course work in 1959. He was a member of the Komsomol. On graduating from the university he worked in the history library.

"His attraction to religion arose while working in the library. He always knew that some higher being--the Creator of the Universe--which controls the fates of people, exists. Howsver, beginning in 1967-1968 he started thinking especially deeply about these issues, and he began regularly attending church, singing in the choir, and reading the bible in church. Having decided to dedicate himself to serving the Church, he began reading religious literature and books of worship services, and learning prayers. And in April 1974 he quit the history library and gained employment in the MDA as a librarian. There he continued his ecclesiastical self-education intensively."

* * * * *

In complicance with a 29 July 1974 resolution of the Council entitled "On the State of Surveillance Over the Activities of Ecclesiastical Educational Institutions of the Russian Orthodox Church," we will continue to:

devote constant and unweakening attention to monitoring, and intensifying our influence upon, the selection and placement of teachers, professors, and instructors of theological schools, studying their attitudes, and exerting a certain amount of effort at reducing their religious activity;

take all necessary steps to curb attempts by fanatically predisposed persons to slip into theological schools as instructors or as students;

continue, by way of the patriarchate's educational committee and the rectors of the theological schools, to review training manuals and introduce new lectures on a number of church subjects with a consideration for the need to elevate the degree of citizenship expressed by students and teachers;

in the process of cultural and educational functions conducted in theological schools, intensify mass political work among instructors and students, as well as individual forms of work aimed at shaping deep patriotic convictions.

4. The Publishing Activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, the ZHURNAL MOSKOVSKOY PATRIARKHII [JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE]

The publishing activities of the Russian Orthodox Church are the province of the Moscow patriarchate's publications division. Last year was the 31st year of this division's continuous activity. The publishing organization division consists of the editorial board of the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, headed by the editor-in-chief and chairman of the publications division Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk (K. V. Nechayev). In addition to the editorial board of the Journal, the following editorial boards and publications are involved in the publishing activities of the patriarchate as a whole:

the collection "Bogoslovskiye Trudy" ["Theological Works"];

the journal of the Ukrainian exarchate Pravoslavniy Vestnik [Orthodox Herald] published in Ukrainian in Kiev;

the bulletin of the Central European exarchate Golos Pravoslaviya [Voice of Orthodoxy] published in Berlin in German;

the bulletin of the Hungarian deanery Tserkovnaya Letopis' [Church Chronicle] published in Budapest in Hungarian;

the journal of the West European exarchate Vestnik Russkogo Zapadnoyevropeyskogo Ekzarkhata Moskovskogo Patriarkhata [Herald of the Russian West European Exarchate of the Moscow Patriarchate] published in Paris in French and Russian;

the journal of diocesan parishes in the United States 'Yedinaya Tserkov' [The One Church] published in New York in English;

the journal of diocesan parishes in Canada Kanadskiy Pravoslavniy Vestnik [Canadian Orthodox Herald] published in Edmonton in English.

The Tallinn diocese annually published a church calendar and holiday and other messages from the archbishop in Estonian. The Riga, Ufa, and some other dioceses also publish messages on Easter and Christmas as well as other occasional messages from the archbishop. The Korsun' diocese in Paris publishes the Pravoslavniy Byulleten' [Orthodox Bulletin] in French. A bulletin is published in Japanese in Tokyo. The editorial board of the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate maintains its closest contacts with the editorial board of the bulletin Golos Pravoslaviya [Voice of Orthodoxy], it submits its own literary, photographic, and illustrative materials to the bulletin each month, and it pays honorariums to domestic authors for articles published in the bulletin. Personal meetings of the editors could promote establishment of close and effective relationships with foreign editorial boards, but such meetings are held very rarely. The last conference of the editorial boards of some of the publications listed above was held in Moscow in 1972.

The editorial board of the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate is staffed by employees having theological and special education, and technicians who insure the smooth running of its publishing and administrative divisions and expeditions. An English editorial board was organized in 1971. Translations from Russian into English are made by highly skilled freelance translators.

The annual publications plan of the editorial board is reviewed by the editorial staff. Literary editors edit scientific and literary materials submitted to the editorial board, they work together with the authors, and they conduct independent theological research in accordance with the editorial board's plan.

The editorial board utilizes the assistance of archbishops and professors from theological academies in its publication of calendars and religious books.

Archbishop Pitirim reported to us:

"The author staff represents Church and theological society rather broadly. This has important significance mainly to the foreign reader, who arrives at his own opinion of church life in the USSR from the extent to which theologians and priests of all ranks and laymen participate in the journal. The editorial board is highly attentive toward the materials submitted to the journal, and the editors devote a great deal of time to work with the authors. However, it is extremely difficult to work with the authors in view of their insufficient special training and the small staff of editors. Materials submitted to the editorial board enlarge the size of the journal, but the greater part of this material requires significant reworking. The author staff is being enlarged and renewed slowly. The editorial board constantly maintains close contacts with theological schools, and it invites the cooperation of professors, instructors, and students of the seminaries and academies.

"The senior editor and chairman of the publications division regularly reports to the Patriarch on the division's work, and coordinates with him upon all fundamental and important practical problems."

Religious literature is published under the surveillance of the Council for Religious Affairs. Each year the Council reviews the plan of the publications division, which serves as the main document for the Khudozhestvennaya Literatura [Art Literature] Publishing House, which prints all religious publications.

The editorial board's budget is organized on a self-supporting basis.

The Council for Religious Affairs subjects the Journal and other publications of the Moscow patriarchate to censorship. Officials of the Council and some of its members meticulously review all Journal materials intended for publication. In our reviews, we base ourselves on the premise that despite the relatively small number of copies printed, the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate enjoys a rather broad and unique range of readers--from the simple believer and the parish priest, to the foreign reader--laymen, priests, church administrators, and the official services and departments of foreign countries. The journal's editorial board and the author collective as a whole correctly understand the tasks facing the journal, but at the same time we do often encounter, in manuscripts being prepared for printing, passages which do not serve the interests of the state and the believer, which do not promote formation of high civil and patriotic qualities in the reader, and which are in conflict with the rules of Soviet legislation on religious worship. As a result the Council performs a preliminary review of materials for each regular issue of the Journal intended for printing or any other publications of the patriarchate (the Church Calendar, messages from the patriarch, and so on), and the remarks and corrections that are made are responded to correctly by the editor or the Journal editorial board secretary in charge.

The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate is the official press organ of the Russian Orthodox Church. The journal is a channel for all policy of the Church and it is a highly important tribunal through which ideologies of Russian Orthodoxy try to preserve and consolidate the positions of religion and the Church, to conceal from the reader the real unadvertised crisis occurring in the Russian Orthodox Church, to create a reputation for religion as a socially progressive force, and to raise its prestige in the eyes of the believing citizens of our state and abroad.

The Journal contains a significant quantity of material describing the history of Russian Orthodoxy and other Christian churches. Such turns to the past are in essence a unique form of propaganda of religion and the Church. Printing the sermons of Mark the Ascetic, Bishop Theofan, and the Saint Feodosiy Pecherskiy, and materials about St. Spiridon Trimifunskiy, Sergei Radonezhskiy, and other "Holy Fathers," the Journal thus presents examples of service and worthy imitation to today's believers and clergy. Thus No. 12 contains information on Bishop Pitirim of Tambov (1645-1698) in connection with the 600th anniversary of Orthodoxy. Idealizing him, the author of the article instructs the reader what a true believer must be, and what height of perfection he may attain by travelling the road of service to God and the Church. Bishop Pitirim was "...very benevolent, friendly, gentle, sympathetic, and attentive, radiating a pure, deep love toward people and that invisible, mighty power of the spirit which is acquired through many years of persistent struggle against the self... Bishop Pitirim attracted both the Orthodox and the stubborn adherents of the olden rites, Moslems, and pagans, as well as criminals and vagrants in general."

For such services, "Providence" deemed Pitirim worthy to become a miracle-worker. When Pitirim dug a well in the forest near his cell, the water from this well "...took on beneficial, healing properties. He dug the same sort of well near a new cathedral in Tambov, also in the thick of the forest, to which he removed himself for silence and prayer. The water from this well also possessed a holy, special, beneficial power" (Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate No. 11, 1974, pp. 69-70).

It stands to reason that such materials have the goal of promoting the maintenance or resurrection, among the believers, of old ideas, customs, and traditions associated with former "holy places" in Tambovskaya Oblast.

We can note in this connection that no significant consequences of any sort are noted following publication of such materials, inasmuch as due to the small number of copies published, the Journal does not for practical purposes reach the believers at large.

However, control over it should be intensified in the future; greater demands must be placed upon the manuscripts, eliminating from them propaganda on "holy places" and other material that may increase the Church's activity.

5. Executive Organs, Cashier's Office, Violations of the Law, and Interference by Clergy into the Administrative and Financial Activities of Religious Societies

Some administrative employees of the Sverdlovsk diocese exerted pressure upon executive organs with the goal of encouraging them to increase their

payments for maintenance of the diocesan religious center. Receiving prayer-books free from the Moscow patriarchate, they set prices on them at their own discretion, and sold them to the religious associations.

"Many clergymen," reports the Council representative for Nikolayevskaya Oblast, *"seek and find possibilities for gaining greater contact with believers, both in church and outside it. The priests are literally bursting into the apartments of believers in order to hold services in the home, where in the oppressive situation of a burial service religious propaganda is especially effective upon the minds and hearts of parishioners and of believing and non-believing relatives and close friends of the deceased. Simultaneously, priests and choir members performing funerals try to snatch, for their personal enrichment, fivers and tenners that are not accounted for anywhere. Typical in this sense is the example of Archpriest Vlovich from Zhivotneviy. Vlovich not only performed funeral services in an apartment, but he also felt it his duty to visit the relatives of the deceased, and together with them observe the 'tretiny' (on the third day after death), 'devyatiny' (ninth day), 'sorokoviny' (fortieth day), and half a year and a year after death. In the fall of 1974, during his 'free' time, Vlovich organized a trip in two taxis for a group of his fanatic followers to Odessa. There he led them about the churches, and he prayed together with them. Possessing such an 'active core,' a dependable support, Vlovich was in fact the master of the parish, while the society's executive organ and inspection commission were puppets in his hands."*

For practical purposes Father Kirichuk prohibited the inspection commission of the religious society in Vyshniy Volechek, Kalininskaya Oblast, from inspecting the "candle counter" on the second day of Easter (he said that this would be a "great sin"), even though the inspection commission had substantial grounds for suspecting major misappropriations on the part of the executive organ. The conflict that arose on this basis between Kirichuk and the inspection commission caused a disturbance among the parishioners, the striking of commission members Fedoseyev and Belov by certain fanatics, and to Fedoseyev's death due to an infraction.

An inspection of the causes behind the cessation of complaints by believers from Triduby, Krivoozerskiy Rayon, Nikolayevskaya Oblast, who had been perpetually writing that they were being prohibited locally from exercising their right to rent a room for religious purposes, as well as that the church in Krivoyé Ozero was not scheduling baptisms for towns adjacent to Triduby, established that the baptisms were being performed illegally by a demoted priest, Father Markov. The commission for suveillance, which was given charge of the inspection, caught Markov performing three group baptisms in apartments in three different towns, where he had baptized 15 children in the course of the month. Thus were Markov to have "worked" at the same rate for a year, he should have christened at least 150-160 children--that is, more than in the operating church of the rayon center, where only 110 persons were baptized.

Father G. P. Zayko, a priest at the church in Sukhari, Mogilevskaya Oblast, had been fined earlier but failed to make the proper conclusions, and in 1974 he continued to baptize children in the homes and apartments of citizens of Mogilev. When interviewed on this issue, Zayko confessed to the Council representative.

With the consent of P. G. Romankevich, chairman of the executive organ of the religious society in the village of Lozitsa, Shilovskiy Rayon, Mogilevskaya

Oblast, Father P. P. Popov travelled to the population centers of Shilovskiy and Bal'nichskiy rayons, where he performed religious rites in the homes of believers. On Popov's instructions Romankevich sometimes used students as messengers to announce the days of church services. At such times, after school was out they stood by the gates of the schoolyard and said to passing students: *"Children, tell them in the village that there will be a service in church tomorrow,"* and they indicated which holiday it was that they were celebrating. Besides Romankevich, Father Popov also failed to follow the rule requiring the mutual consent of parents for the christening of children.

Dudko, the chairman of the executive organ of the church in Antratsit, Voroshilovgradskaya Oblast, joined a conspiracy with Father Vorob'yev and, capitalizing on her position, in the last few years she spent about 3,000 rubles to repair the church and the priest's home. Moreover all of this was done on their own initiative without the awareness and permission of the city soviet executive committee.

With the consent of the executive organ, the church choir of the religious society in the town of Trostyaneta, Kiverskiy Rayon, Volynskaya Oblast, went carolling about the villages of the parish for the last 3 years under the leadership of reader M. Bichuk, during which time the choir gathered money "for the needs of the church." As a result 3,926 rubles were collected, which were not entered into the cashier's books. There as well, Father V. N. Poritskiy's taxes were paid out of church funds with the cooperation of cashier Kirichuk.

The society's executive organs and active church members collected money to repair Ioanno-Predtechenskaya Church in Sumy not in the church, but at the homes of the faithful. Receipts were not written for the money donated.

Church members in Khotyn', Rovenskiy Rayon, Rovenskaya Oblast, collected 1,300 rubles from surrounding towns under the guise of caroling. The money was not recorded in the parish books, being kept instead at the church. Seven such attempts were halted in 1974. The money was surrendered to the Peace Fund.

During an inspection by employees of the City Finance Department, M. P. Rozhkov treasurer of the Dobrush religious society in Gomel'skaya Oblast, attempted to bribe an inspector, for which she was convicted by a people's court to a 3-year suspended sentence.

In the town of Paportniki, Bogoroditskiy Rayon, Tul'skaya Oblast, Gurov, the chairman of the executive organ of Kazanskaya Church, and treasurer Kuznetsova performed some repairs on the church on their own authority, without permission from local government organs; they paid 2,700 rubles to "moonlighters" for this. Such incidents also occurred in other cities. The executive organ in the town of Verkhnyaya Khortitsa, Zaporozhskaya Oblast built a brick house with an area of 50 square meters, which they intended to use as a dormitory for believers travelling from other towns.

As a rule the violations of the laws on religious worship by both religious associations and clergymen did not go unpunished. Various measures of influence are used against violators: warnings, orders of the Council representative or the local government organ, payment of additional income tax, and initiation of criminal or administrative court proceedings. Cancellation of a contract with a clergyman by an executive organ, the clergyman's dismissal from his work, and his transfer to another church or dismissal from the ruling

bishop's staff and other means. In a number of cases local government organs have used their right to remove individual members from an executive organ and an inspection commission, or to strike them from the records.

Priests Yermakov and Tychkovskiy, who performed numerous rituals and rites (christenings of children, public prayers, memorial services, and so on) in the church of Oboyan', Kurskaya Oblast, with the knowledge of the executive organ, without drawing up the paperwork, and were paid for their services, were ordered to pay additional tax--the former a total of 6,295 rubles, and the latter a total of 7,199 rubles, and both were transferred to other churches.

Twelve Orthodox priests were punished in the Belorussian SSR for baptizing children in the apartments of believers, and at their own homes. Seven executive organ members were fined for permitting juveniles to participate in christenings as godfathers. Fifteen fanatics were punished for organizing religious processions through the streets with an icon and candle.

Eleven priests in various rayons of Voronezhskaya Oblast were given warnings for interfering in the financial and administrative activities of religious societies performing services at home, blessing homes, secretly christening children, and appropriating money.

APPENDIX D

From The Orthodox Monitor, No. 7-8, 1980

Report of Fr. G. Yakunin to the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers' Rights in the USSR

Fr. Gleb Yakunin was arrested by the KGB on Nov. 1, 1979, but not before he was able to smuggle to the West the following extremely important document, entitled "Report of Fr. Gleb Yakunin to the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR About the Present Situation of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Prospects of Religious Revival in Russia." Although the author of this document discusses only the Russian Orthodox Church, his work nevertheless gives a clear picture of how the authorities through their special agencies attempt to infiltrate and manipulate all Christian denominations in the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

REPORT
of Father Gleb Yakunin to the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the USSR About the Present Situation of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Prospects of the Religious Renaissance in Russia

Dear Brethren!

In Russia at the present time, an awakening and growth of religious consciousness is occurring. Those who are reaching out for religion, who are coming to it, were just yesterday atheists. On the whole, it is the intelligentsia and young people who are turning to God.

But the Moscow Patriarchate in its present state has proved incapable of reacting to this process with animation, of strengthening it and guiding it into the main channel of the Church.

This religious renaissance is occurring apart from the Moscow Patriarchate, and moreover, the tragedy of this situation is that the Moscow Patriarchate, against its will, has proved to be an obstacle in its path, a brake.

An investigation into the reasons for this tragic phenomenon, the condition of the Moscow Patriarchate at the present time, the prospects and possible paths of the renaissance of Orthodoxy in our country--these form the subject of this report.

The report does not pretend to, and cannot because of its limited scope, give a full picture of the Russian Orthodox Church's position. It is rather a sketch for it, intended only to concentrate attention on its most scandalous fragments.

The crisis now being experienced by the Moscow Patriarchate was in many ways predetermined by genetically transmitted diseases from the time of the Byzantine, and later the Russian, empires. Under the conditions of an unexpected revolution which attacked the Church and persecution by the new state, they caused the outbreak of this severe crisis.

But we believe that "this sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God."

We doubt neither the state of grace of the Russian Orthodox Church nor the sanctity of its sacraments.

We believe that the divine leaven, preordained to effect the religious transformation of Russia, has become cold and is preserved in its depths.

Today, looking at the present life of the Russian Orthodox Church and casting an internal glance over its past, one arrives at the certainty that a certain historical-spiritual stage is ending, the reading of which should begin with the deposition of Khrushchev and the ending of the campaign of mass church closings, which was caused by the desire to build communism in our country by the year 1980.

At the beginning of this stage, the prospect of a belated "thaw," which came for the state and society after Stalin's death, opened up unexpectedly for the Moscow Patriarchate as well. At that time, one could hope that after the severe persecution which had befallen the Church, its leadership, the episcopate, having realized what had happened and corrected past mistakes, would try to obtain an improvement of the Church's position in the state.

This hope was one of the moving forces behind the writing of the "Open Letter" to Patriarch Alexi in 1965.

Now, comparing the condition of the Moscow Patriarchate of that time with that of the present, one can say that for many in the Church, it was a time of expectation of approaching spring.

But the Church is a living organism--not only by the divine grace abiding in it, but by its human nature. Possessing through mankind the indisputably God-given freedom of will, the Russian Orthodox Church could realize, or could let slip, the auspicious prospects opening up before it.

And now, speaking about the Moscow Patriarchate of today, we affirm: the potentials have been unrealized, the opportunities missed. Spring did not come. An even denser shroud of icy darkness hangs over it as it faints and becomes stiff with cold.

And now, as never before, the prophetic words spoken to the angel of the church of Sardis apply to it: "I know thy works; thou thinkest that thou livest, but thou art dead." (Rev. 3:1)

And so, let us examine the present condition of the Russian Orthodox Church at all its hierarchical levels.

[The Patriarch of Moscow and of All Russia]

[Despite believers' hopes, the restoration of the Patriarchate after the Revolution did not make the Church independent of the State. The present Patriarch, Pimen, is but a decorative figure who functions as nothing more than a ruling bishop.] [1]

[...] What is the Patriarch's present position?

Possessing by canon law full church power, the Patriarch, in both his patriarchal administrative activity and, as director of the Moscow Diocese, in his daily work (in the promotion of his proteges to the episcopate, in the appointment of bishops to bishoprics and their transfer, and in other analogous activities concerning the Moscow clergy), is completely dependent on the decision of the civil authorities.

Not one bishop, not one priest or deacon can be ordained, be transferred to another church, or even be demoted without the advance agreement of either the Council for Religious Affairs (CRA) or its Moscow agent, if the matter concerns the Moscow Diocese.

One of the Patriarch's basic church duties is to look after religious life in the dioceses and if necessary, to further its improvement by his personal participation.

But in recent years the Patriarch has completely ceased to carry out this duty. All complaints from believers and clergy addressed to the Patriarch are automatically, without having been examined, forwarded to local bishops with the hackneyed patriarchal instruction: "To the Right Reverend (name). Date. Signature."

The response of one ruling archbishop: "Occasionally one has the impression that the diocese exists independently of the Patriarch. Years go by without any orders from him."

The one, constant correspondence from the Patriarchate to the dioceses is the Christmas and Easter epistles, the request for yearly accounts, and reminders about the need to transfer Church monies to various funds. [...]

[the only time he attempted to use his power was when he retired an unpopular monastic official who had been discouraging pilgrims from visiting a monastery. This man was later reinstated by order of the CRA.]

[...] Beginning with the 1950s, the Moscow Patriarchate has not shown itself to be the organizing and unifying center of religious life and missionary work that it should be, according to its position.

It has issued no epistles or documents which concern the organization of pastoral missionary work.

In all of that time, the Moscow Patriarchate has never protested publicly against persecution of the Church, the mass closings of churches, or the persecution of Christians. It has not defended the rights of believers. It did not issue one document directed against the efforts of atheism to overcome the religious world view, and in not even one publication of the Patriarchate of the USSR was there an appeal to believers to resist atheistic propaganda which undermines religion.

The Patriarch has no vital link with believers. His sole form of communication with the people is divine service in Yelokhov Bogoyavlensk [Epiphany] Cathedral and in several Moscow churches.

The Patriarch does not receive simple believers. Even the clergy cannot gain an audience with him.

It is rare that the Patriarch receives rectors of the Moscow churches. When a rector of a Moscow church is ordained, he usually receives the Patriarchal order through a secretary.

It is even difficult for a ruling archbishop to gain an audience with the Patriarch.

"It is recommended" that the Patriarch travel abroad, but "it is not advisable" for him to travel around the country and perform divine services in the dioceses. (Such services would contribute to the upsurge of religious life in the provinces. The authorities know that well, and for that reason, the Patriarch does not travel around the country.)

The Patriarch does not even perform divine services in the Moscow region, but only in the city of Moscow.

In May of this year, Patriarch Pimen went on a vacation cruise on the Volga. Why shouldn't he have performed a service, if only on one Sunday, in one of the many churches along the way, to the great joy of believers, as did Patriarch Alexi in his time--whom the clergy met with gonfalons and icons and the faithful with bread and salt, accompanied by the ringing of church bells?

No, it is not permitted, the authorities "did not advise it."

So the Patriarch spends his vacation in quiet with his retinue on the upper deck of the ship, half-incognito, and do those believers below or those on the bank know that their Great Lord and Father, the Patriarch of All Russia, is travelling down the great Russian river?

In 1973, the 500-year anniversary of the Pskov Pechersk [Cave] Monastery was celebrated. It was expected that Patriarch Pimen, formerly the assistant to the abbot of that monastery, would be present at the festivities, but no--the authorities "did not recommend it."

The one exception to this rule was the Patriarch's trip to Leningrad and his participation in the funeral of Metropolitan Nikodim.

But in his isolation the Patriarch is invested with the eyes and ears of the KGB, and informers are included among those who surround him most closely--the novices, subdeacons, and his personal secretary.

And even his personal chauffeur is a KGB officer, a retired major.

The Patriarch is just as closely enveloped in Peredelkino and in the Odessa Uspensk [Assumption] Monastery, where he goes in the summer on vacation.

Sometimes the Patriarch takes a vacation in special, exclusive state sanatoria.

His food, medical service, and personal physician are from the "Kremlyovka," the system of governmental service.

The Patriarch himself in rare confidential conversations with people close to him would say that he was in a "golden cage."

And many archbishops of the Russian Orthodox Church like to repeat that now-common metaphor, each applying it to himself in order to appease his conscience.

Does this image correspond to reality?

In part, yes. But isn't that cage made of soft gold? Can one not move the pliable bars apart by an effort of will? [...]

[The Episcopate]

[The state tightly controls the selection of bishops, who cannot be disposed of as easily now as during Stalin's time. The bishops have made no attempt to encourage liberalization of state policies toward the Church since an abortive attempt in the 1960s.]

[...] Any sort of initiative, even the most modest, to attempt to improve the situation of the Church can no longer be expected from the present episcopate. Owing to the ever-stronger artificial selection of bishops, only those individuals are chosen who are known to be incapable of resisting state interference in internal church affairs.

One index of this tendency is the ever-increasing percentage of bishops who have completed the "school" of the DECR (Department of External Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate). In the process of collaborating with the "external" department, a special type of "complaisant" hierarch is formed, disciplined, trained in obedience to the Soviet authorities, and in addition, skillful in dealing with foreigners. Some of these hierarchs are even allowed, as an exception, to engage in a greater amount of diocesan work in order to increase their authority, especially abroad.

One of the more effective manifestations of episcopal power is the bishop's ability to "bind and decide."

In the present practice of the Moscow Patriarchate, the bishops either do not use this instrument of severing all that is alien to the Church or use it against the Church itself.

Thus, in every diocese, there are priests who corrupt the parishes "from within" by means of their immoral behavior. Such people are also present among the most active church members, the churchwardens and the "Parish Councils."

Such individuals, usually encouraged by the authorities, behave arrogantly, unafraid of Church sanctions.

And in fact, sanctions are imposed on such individuals extremely rarely. Such an action by a bishop could provide a serious objection from the [CRA] agent and the bishop could even lose his bishopric.

Thus, in 1975, Archbishop Bogolep of Kirovograd and Nikolaev banned from serving a morally corrupt priest, the dean [glagochinny] and rector of Nikolsk Church in the city Nikolaev, Archpriest Pyotr Strizhik [2], who was supported by the local agent. Later, on November 6, 1976, he excommunicated a group of laymen. (Unfortunately several honest Christians fell under the sanctions along with the rascals.) A month later Archbishop Bogolep was retired.

One of the reasons for his retirement was these sanctions.

And concomitantly, the excommunication of believers who tried to be of some use to the Church through their activity provides an example of the use of episcopal power in the struggle against the Church. On July 10, 1978, Archbishop Leonti of Semfiropol excommunicated such a group of believers of the Uspensk Church in the city of Pavlograd. [3] [...]

[...] Cut off from genuine and valuable church activity, archbishops retire into private interests, lapsing into various hobbies and collecting things: panagias [4], miters, vestments, icons, pictures, records, stamps, precious gems, etc., and some simply money.

Thus, after Nikodim's death, more than one million rubles were found of his own money. This sum was transferred to the State Bank. Will his heirs receive it? The state is not likely to let such a valuable gift slip out of its hands. In any case, this money, essentially belonging to the Church, is lost to it forever.

At the same time, it became clear that the debt of the Leningrad Diocese of the Moscow Patriarchate totalled 300,000 rubles.

[The Clergy]

[...] On the one hand, a priest's position is the most dependent—from the point of view of both Church and state authority (the bishop, dean, rector, churchwardens, district executive committee, the CRA agent, the KGB operations agent), but on the other, his spiritual flock, his social base, is his defense. The experience of the Church's existence under our conditions shows

conclusively: the better the priest, the larger and more active his flock, the more solid and independent is his position.

The "Dudko phenomenon" confirms this quite well. Gradually, by means of his pastoral works, having gathered around himself literally hundreds of spiritual children ready to go through "fire and water" with him, Father Dmitri has attained solely by his own efforts such an independent status, that he has practically realized the principle of independence of the Church from the State within the limits of the church life of his community.

But one of the basic tragic reasons for the enslavement of the Church by the State is that zealous pastors like Father Dmitri are very few in the Moscow Patriarchate. [...]

[Many priests do not even preach, since this is not encouraged by the Patriarch, and their performance of the sacraments has been reduced to pure ritualism.]

[...] An objective index of the pastoral quality of a priest is the number of people whom he has personally turned to God, and the number of young people among his spiritual children.

A significant part of the Moscow clergy has among its active members not one such Christian who has been turned to God, not one youthful spiritual child continuously under his wardship.

Only elderly people or young people who come to the particular priest by chance, because he happens to be on duty, take part in the sacraments performed by such priests. Lacking wide and secure support among the believing people, afraid to lose their easy jobs or registration in general, such priests become an easy target for pressure by anit-religious forces. Such priests form the basic contingent of the informers. The spiritual authorities do not encourage intensive church work. Priests who do not cease their active work are transferred either to a less important parish or completely out of town. And, as a rule, it is priests who are fully acceptable to the authorities who are promoted and receive church awards. (The list of those who have received such awards is also subject to advance state censorship.) Thus, for example, Mitered Archpriest Nikolai Petrov, the brother of the metropolitan of Odessa, is the office director of the Moscow Patriarchate, one of the deans of the Moscow Diocese, and also rector of the Church of St. Nikolai of Khamovnitsk. He was awarded the honor of being the only representative of the Moscow clergy at the General Council of 1971. (A more worthy man was not found.) He is a nervous man with an unusually difficult, uncommunicative character, which literally makes the clergy under his jurisdiction and everyone subordinated to him groan. Quickly ascending the hierarchical ladder, Archpriest Nikolai began his work in St. Nikolai Church by driving the believing young people who were waiting in the church away from the altar and left choir. (Was it not in gratitude for this measure that he was soon included in a group of pilgrims of the Moscow Patriarchate sent to Mt. Athos?)

In whatever church Archpriest Nikolai appears, his whole activity is always directed toward extinguishing religious life. A priest who does not preach but who has a predilection for finding out the addresses and place of work of petitioners of the Moscow Patriarchate who complain about oppression

from the local authorities, one who without delay hands these facts over to the appropriate organs, who possesses the full complement of traits inadmissible for a priest--in the Moscow Patriarchate, this priest could become who he is only by the law which operates under the present conditions: "the worse, the better." [...]

[Although they have obtained higher theological education, most priests remain so ignorant about contemporary theological problems that they would be unable to argue successfully for the existence of the Church even if they were given access to the media and public at large. Each diocese contains immoral priests who are supported by the local authorities because their presence aids the cause of anti-religious propaganda.

Diocesan conferences could be an effective tool in improving priests' qualifications.]

[...] Beginning with the 1950s, diocesan conferences no longer met.

But recently, after a thirty-year interruption, the practice of having these conferences has been resumed. The traditional motifs--beginning with "Oh King of Heaven..." and ending with "It is meet..."--are only to observe church form. The main subject of the meeting is a political lecture, for example, "On the International Situation," "Imaginary and Actual Human Rights." The lecturer is from the society Znanie [Knowledge]. (The society Znanie is the publisher of the anti-religious journal Nauka i Religiya--Science and Religion).

The central figure at the conference is the invariably present CRA agent. (Even in the photographs published by the Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii [Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate--JMP], he is in the center and the archbishop to his side. See no. 5, 1978, p. 27; no. 3, 1979, p. 17; and no. 5, 1979, inset.)

The agent speaks, sometimes even gives a lecture, for example, on "The New Constitution, Freedom of Conscience, and the Soviet Legislation on Religious Cults." [5]

In its most recent issues, the JMP announces that these "diocesan conferences" have been instituted and announces their day without ceremony. The main goal of these meetings is to demoralize and intimidate the clergy even more (against a background of general consolidation of the human rights movement in the country and the abrupt strengthening of activity among Baptists, Pentecostals, and Adventists). By this means the authorities are striving to prevent the strengthening of the movement for the liberation of the Church from state oppression within the Moscow Patriarchate. These meetings are also a special sort of test: will all the clergy listen to and suffer the degrading lie about the imaginary freedom of the Church? Having listened and suffered it, the participants of the conference strengthen the reflex of obedience in themselves. It is characteristic that not one word is said at these meetings about the daily needs of the Church, about pastoral problems, or about means of strengthening the religious life of the parishes. Why not include in the subject matter of these meetings at least a few of the enormous number of questions connected with the internal life of the Church? No, it's forbidden. The authorities fear even the tiniest strengthening of the religious spirit among the parish priests.

[Churchwardens--the Executive Body of the Church, the Parish Council]

[In recent years, it has become more common for members of parish councils, which control the church's finances, to have no other connection with the church. This infiltration is possible because the parish councils have no legal right to exercise veto power over new members. Such councils and the churchwardens they select can have a detrimental effect on the parish.]

[The Parishes. The Laity--the Orthodox Believers]

As before, the vast majority of the believers in churches are elderly people. There is a larger percentage of young people, mainly the intelligentsia, only in the large cities, especially in Moscow and Leningrad.

But even here the young people are concentrated in the most popular churches and in those where good preachers and confessors serve.

As before, the deep devotion of Orthodox Christians is combined with faith in rituals and the absence of elemental theological knowledge.

The majority of the believers do not understand the meaning of the basic church services: vespers, matins, and the liturgy. The priests do not explain the meaning of the divine service in their sermons.

For the majority of the Orthodox, the reading of the Akathistos hymn, the Office for the Dead, or the reading aloud of commemorative slips is more valuable spiritually than participation in prayers of the Divine Liturgy. An especially grave question is the education of youth. Despite the official interdiction, the Catholic Church, the Baptists, Pentecostals, and Adventists continue the church education of their children on a large scale. In the Orthodox Church, with the very rare exception of several zealots who have taken this feat upon themselves, the question of educating the young is neglected. As a rule, parents who are believers do not possess the necessary knowledge and ability for the religious education of their children. The complete absence of modern religious children's literature in Russian also has a negative influence on the religious education of children.

In the present Orthodox parish, as in the communities of no other confession, the feeling of Christian brotherhood is weakened. Paradoxical cases are encountered in the large cities. People who have stood next to each other in prayer and have taken communion from the same chalice for decades, who have watched from the corner of their eyes how each other's children and grandchildren grow, how they themselves are aging, turn out to be personally unacquainted. Occasionally, Orthodox Christians who live tens and hundreds of kilometers from the nearest churches are left with practically no spiritual care from the Church. All the believers' troubles and campaigns to open churches have had no positive result. A classic exaple in this regard is the attempt by believers of the city of Gorky to open the Orthodox church. [6] Several thousand people participated in this movement. Here is the standard course of events. First the authorities delay answering, then the activities are intimidated and libelled in the local press, and [finally], the authorities demand that they cease their efforts, and even persecute them.

In recent years, a few churches around the country have nevertheless been opened. Patriarch Pimen reported the opening of these churches (and the fundamental reconstruction of old ones) in his report at the ceremonial meeting of May 25, 1978, devoted to the 60-year anniversary of the reinstatement of the Patriarchate (JMP, no. 8, p. 11, 1978). [7]

With the exception of the city Morozoviya in Rostov region, all the other reopened parishes ennumerated in the Patriarch's report are located in direct or strategic proximity to China. Evidently, with their more liberal policy regarding the Russian Orthodox Church in these geographical zones, the authorities want to use religion as one strengthening, stabilizing factor in districts close to the border with a potential enemy.

[Monasteries]

[Of more than a thousand monasteries in Russia before the Revolution, only sixteen remain and are under strict governmental control.]

[...] It is noteworthy that the Troitse-Sergiev Lavra is the extreme eastern point in the monastic "area" of our country. To the east of Moscow there is not one monastery. The monastic brethren and everyone who labors in a monastery, its residents, are under attentive observation from outside. One of the widespread means of control over the monastic breathren is the denial of registration for monastic residents by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. After a refusal of registration or after a previously registered resident's name has been removed from registration, he automatically becomes a violator of the existing passport regime. Exposed to the threat of administrative, criminal prosecution, he is forced to abandon the monastery at once. [...]

[...] The staff of operating monasteries is artifically underestimated and strictly regulated. From the financial point of view, any monastery could support a brotherhood many times larger than the present one, but the authorities do not allow it. Before becoming a monk at the monastery, each resident must go through a probational period, not to test his compatibility with the monastery so much from the church, religious point of view, as from that of the Council and the KGB.

Despite the presence of many who wish to enter monasteries, especially young people, the monastic brotherhood consists exclusively of elderly, pension-aged monks who are hardly able to work.

Contemporary monasteries have virtually turned into homes for the partially disabled. For young people, especially those with education, the road to the monastery is closed. Only those who are thoroughly acceptable to the authorities have easy access.

As a rule, monks who undertake active religious, instructive work and who gather around themselves many pilgrims, are sent out of the monastery to serve in a parish, are completely excluded from the monastery, or are forbidden to preach or hear confessions of pilgrims.

But a climate has been created in the monasteries which is so adverse for spiritual life, that many monks themselves escape from them.

Contemporary monasteries are degenerating spiritually. The very idea of the communal monastery--the meaning of whose existence is the cultivation [styazhanie] of true Christian love among the resident brethren--is being distorted. Under actual conditions, when the brethren do not trust each other and each suspects the other of "informing" (all monks sooner or later go through the "trial" of recruitment by the KGB), true Christian brotherly love among the brethren is quite impossible. The situation in the monasteries is aggravated by the following. [...]

[Under the existing namestnik system, the assistant to the abbot of a monastery is appointed not by the monks, but by the Patriarch and Holy Synod, who often overrule their desires and even those of the ruling archbishop of the diocese.]

[...] The "Monophysite" [8] ideology which is still preserved in monasteries by monks of principle is appropriate to the present state of the monasteries. Sincerely inspired by "gloomy eschatology," convinced that the power of the Antichrist will soon come, that the end of the world has drawn nigh, and that any struggle except prayer is useless, since the whole world already lies in evil, seeing no prospects for a religious renaissance or a spiritual renaissance of society, not understanding or undertaking any creative tasks which presently stand before the Christian, the "patriarchal" monks are paralyzing the social activity of believers. They orient them only toward individual asceticism, only toward the expectation of the early end of the world, and toward a departure from the historical process which is being accomplished. [...]

[Theological Schools--Seminaries and Academies]

[Theological schools prepare students to become not pastors, but "cult ministers" and KGB collaborators, and foster in them only negative qualities, such as pharisaism and the habit of informing. Although the number of students has doubled in the last decade, this is not a victory for the Church, since zealously religious young people are usually either not accepted or later excluded from studying.]

[Financial Management, the Publishing Department, the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate]

[The Moscow Patriarchate clears all of its actions with the CRA. Since the anti-church reform in 1960, church communities have been required to keep all of their money in state banks, and it may not be spent without the permission of the CRA agent. Church-related articles such as icons and crosses are made of poor materials, except for those sold in places visited by foreign tourists.

The subjects which the Moscow Patriarchate is permitted to discuss in its journal are either propagandistic or so theologically obscure that few readers can understand them. The Department of External Church Relations functions as an arm of official state propaganda, especially abroad, and has especially strong links with the KGB. It spends huge sums of money on sending "missionaries" to the West and entertaining visiting Western tourists.]

[The Moscow Patriarchate and the Prospects for a Renaissance of Orthodoxy in Russia]

[...] One of the fundamental ideas expressed in the first encyclical of Pope John Paul II, the "Redeemer of Man," is that the most important and foremost goal of the existence of Christ's Church is its redemptive service for man.

This highly humane thought, not acceptable to the "cult-pious" pharisaical mentality which considers the Church's most important purpose to be divine service, is deeply true, for God, possessing being in infinite abundance, does not need glorification by His creatures.

Even in the intended redemptive mission of the Church of Christ, the foremost goal is universal missionary work: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them..." (Matthew 28:19)

This supreme mandate of the Savior, given to the Church upon its entry into the world, under the conditions of total purposeful atheism which reigns in our country, becomes a problem of decisive, exceptional importance. The Moscow Patriarchate in its present state is incapable of coping with this to any degree.

What is the Moscow Patriarchate at the present moment?

For the Orthodox spiritual religious consciousness, it is turning more and more into a "cult-performing" sect.

For the majority of the population, including non-believers who by tradition still fall back upon the Church's services--to baptize children and perform a funeral service for the deceased--it has turned into a religious branch of a personal service shop.

For unlucky foreign tourists, it has become an exotic souvenier "a la Russe."

For the state which holds it fast with its atheistic hands from above, by its head (the Patriarch and the episcopate), from below, by its executive organs, the Moscow Patriarchate no longer presents any ideological danger. The time of Khrushchev's "voluntaristic" forcible measures, in the religious area as well, is gone forever.

As spiritual, ideological energies are exhausted by the state, as its conversion to pragmatic positions continues to grow, the status of the Moscow Patriarchate continues to rise in the eyes of the state. It is becoming a more and more convenient instrument for its goals. Its position in the state and social system is being consolidated.

Although recently the Moscow Patriarchate did canonize Metropolitan of Moscow Innokenti, the great Russian missionary, we dare to affirm that it was only for political considerations, meeting the petitions of the American Antocephalous Church halfway.

True reverence for the saint is imitation of his redemptive spiritual feat [podvig].

The boundless lands of Eastern Siberia, the Far East, Kamchatka, Sakhalin, Chukotka, Magadan, where Metropolitan Innokenti preached and founded churches, now stand completely without them. In Yakutiya there are only two.

At the same time that unregistered communities, Pentecostals, Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses carry on highly effective work here, the Orthodox flock, hundreds and thousands of kilometers from the nearest churches, has been left by its hierarchy to the mercy of fate.

Last year a representative of the believers in Kamchatka came here. I had a detailed discussion with him. For many years the believers of Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka have been trying, without success, to open a church.

The difficulties are aggravated by the fact that Kamchatka is a closed zone--one can only go there with special permission. Once every few years, because of petitions from believers, the authorities allow a priest from Vladivostok to come and give communion, unction, and perform baptisms.

But the believers complain that they sent such a priest, that perhaps it would have been better not to have one at all--he is just [a source of] temptation. People's faith is shaken from contact with him.

When our conversation touched on problems of jurisdiction, church unity and schisms, my interlocutor said, "For us in Kamchatka, the question of jurisdiction is only theoretical.

"What gives us the consciousness of unity with even the Moscow Patriarchate if Christians die without communion and confession and children without baptism?

"We need a real unity with the Church, communion with Christ in the Church's sacraments.

"We are ready to adopt any other hierarchy if the Moscow Patriarchate does not come to us. Let it be the Greeks, the Americans, the Parisians, or the Church Abroad [Karlovchane]. Let it be anyone you want, if only they bring us the grace of God and Orthodox truth."

His simple but weighty reasoning is completely convincing. [...]

[The successful activity of the various unregistered Christian groups in the country has demonstrated that a modern church should ideally consist of two parts--one registered, and one unregistered. The latter part would grow at the expense of the official part in times of oppression and vice versa. In Patriarch Tikhon's time, such a "catacomb" church existed with secretly consecrated priests. Unfortunately, this requires that the leaders of the official church be slightly independent of the state; presently they are not.]

[...] What are the numerous Orthodox Christians to do, who live far from churches and whom the Moscow Patriarchate has left to the mercy of fate?

Church canonical thought has struggled with that problem for many years. Conscientious Christians do not exist whose hearts could remain indifferent

to this burning issue. We have also centered great attention on this issue for many years. And now that we have arrived at a unanimous, defensible conviction, we can unswervingly give the following answer to the above question.

Christians who are suffering without spiritual care and who do not receive help from the Moscow Patriarchate should seek to adopt a Christian hierarchy from the hands of any Orthodox fraternal church.

Among the contemporary churched young people who possess sufficient knowledge, many zealous candidates can be found who do not fear persecution and who would consider it the highest honor to accept holy orders secretly and serve where there are no churches.

One of the basic principles of canon law--the Church's jurisdiction on a territorial-geographical basis--is formally a stumbling block in the path of the creation in our country of a hierarchy independent from the Moscow Patriarchate. According to this principle, one local church cannot operate on the territory of another. But... "The sabbath is for man, and not man for the sabbath." In view of the existence of this canonical principle, the following reservations must be made:

1. As one theologian aptly defined it, "The canon is the projection of dogma onto history." Church dogma is unchangeable. But history in the twentieth century has changed catastrophically, and established canon law goes back to the time of the Church's founding. Several canons, even basic ones, require review and correlation with the present time.

2. The canonical rules could not foresee that a local church would appear that refuses to <u>care for</u> its spiritual children and refuses to <u>spread</u> the Gospels in places where an atheistic state does not permit it.

3. A fact which confirms that the above-mentioned canonical principle should have exceptions corresponding to the reality of our time is the widespread violation of this principle by many local churches, especially in Europe and America. The Moscow Patriarchate, in particular, has parishes located on the territory of the American Autocephalous Orthodox Church under its jurisdiction.

If, for example, the American Orthodox Church took under its jurisdiction the suffering Orthodox flock in the USSR, which is not cared for by the Moscow Patriarchate, in order to render brotherly help and exchange experiences, this would be a valuable contribution to the balancing of relations between the two churches and to their further deepening. And if God gives His blessing, through the prayers of St. Innokenti, spiritual bread also will flow from America to the starving Christians of Siberia and the Far East. [...]

[Even if the Moscow hierarchy does nothing to foster religious life in the Church, there is a growing number of dedicated young people ready to do so.]

[...] Alongside the huge geographical expanses which lack church care, a no less significant spiritual sphere exists--that of contemporary young

people, who are thirsting to hear the Word of God and to join in the mysterious fullness of Orthodox Church life. The most active of the newly-converted laymen themselves assume the burden of apostolic devotion to preaching among their brothers. But the lack of holy orders, the impossibility to conclude a successful sermon with baptism and the Eucharist, the impossibility of organizing community life without which true churching is unthinkable--all this serves as a serious obstacle in the path of the Christianization of young Russia. Only individual pastors who possess exceptional courage, abilities, and energy, who know how to obtain international renown, can let themselves work among young people, remaining in the parishes, in canonical subordination to the Moscow Patriarchate, under the pressure and vigilant supervision of the civil authorities. I will name the well-known names--Dmitri Dudko and Alexander Men. But they, the rare exceptions, only underline the overall tragedy of the situation. The clergy of the Moscow Patriarchate are pastors who are forbidden to seek out and call together the wandering sheep into Christ's flock and these pastors cravenly submit to this prohibition. And when a few sheep wander up to them on their own, they soon run away depressed and disillusioned from the dead spirit of their rare sermons, from the belief in rituals and pharisaism, from the indifference and laziness, and from the hypocrisy and informing which reigns in the parish life of the Moscow Patriarchate. These pastors are becoming like those who, "possessing the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, do not themselves enter and do not let others in."

But for a true renaissance of Orthodoxy in Russia, not two and not ten, but hundreds of priests are needed, who have come from amidst the newly converted youth, who know its spiritual interests, and who boldly and sacrificially undertake a missionary spiritual feat [podvig].

But the Moscow Patriarchate is incapable of creating an army of priests whose pastoral activity is not controlled, who are not riveted by registration to the church walls, and who have fiery and missionary energy. [...]

[The government does not persecute the Moscow Patriarchate, but the religiously active young people, thus attesting to the fact that it is precisely among them that Russia's true meeting with Christ is occurring.]

[...] The thousand-year anniversary of the baptism of Russia is approaching. Now, having lived through and become sober after the catastrophe of the "great falling away," enfeebled and ravaged Russia stands at a crossroads. What awaits her a decade from now?

Will the great anniversary be only a lament for the historical past or a sign and prototype of the great baptism of the new?

And, as a thousand years ago, the religious destiny of Russia again depends upon the clerical leadership of the Church and its missionaries.

Will Russia see them, and hear their testimony to Christ?

August 15, 1979
Moscow

NOTES

1. Summaries of passages not translated in full are enclosed in brackets. [Translator's note]

2. See also Documents of the CCDBR (DCCDBR) pp. 79-100, 223-225, and 299-302. [Translator's note]

3. See also DCCDBR pp. 50-71, 232, 434-437, 352-467, 689-696, 731-732, 866-876, and 1196-1197. [Translator's note]

4. An icon of the Mother of God worn on the breast by bishops. [Translator's note]

5. The special cynicism of these farces is that certain agents (for example, the one in Leningrad), take advantage of the work of anti-religious organizations and speak at atheistic conferences on anti-religious and anti-clerical subjects. The same Leningrad agent, G. S. Zharikov, spoke openly in his report to a 1977 atheistic conference about how he was preventing individuals with higher education from entering Leningrad theological schools, and lamented that he had nevertheless rashly let through several college graduates. [Author's note]

6. See also DCCDBR pp. 433, 470-474, and 858-864. [Translator's note]

7. The Patriarch's report contains inaccuracies. One could mistakenly conclude from it that, for example, a stone church named for St. Nikolai was constructed in Vladivostok on a site where there had been no church. In reality, this church was built on the site of a wooden one where services had been performed. The JMP published inaccurate data in issue no. 4, 1979, as well, where it reported the dedication of a new church in honor of the saint and miracle-worker Nikolai. In fact, only a chapel was dedicated. It was added to the Church of the Holy Apostle Pilipp, which has operated for a long time and is the sole church in all of Novgorod. At this time, no new church community was registered. [Author's note]

8. Monophysitism is the teaching, declared heretical by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, that Christ had only one nature, which was divine and not human. [Translator's note]

COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF PERSECUTED ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS

P.O. Box 9669 • Washington, D.C. 20016

Chairman: Fr. Victor S. Potapov
Co-Chairmen: Alexis Obolensky
Vladimir Tolstoy
Treasurer: Ludmila Kuznetsova
Legal Counsel: John A. Kendrick

Formed in 1977 in response to the appeals for support from the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers Rights in the U.S.S.R.

SERGEI MARKUS
an Orthodox Christian prisoner, he is now serving a three-year labor camp sentence.

ZOYA KRAKHMALNIKOVA
after a year in a prison camp, she is now serving a five-year sentence of exile in the central Siberian town of Ust-Kan, Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast.

ZOYA KRAKHMALNIKOVA AND FELIX SVETOV

In Moscow on January 23rd of this year a writer and literary critic, Felix Svetov, was arrested after a twelve-hour search of his apartment. For several days his whereabouts and the charges against him were not known, and only a week later it was learned that he was being held in a Moscow prison and has been charged with "anti-Soviet slander."

The prosecutor's office of the Zdanovsk District of Moscow is conducting the investigation; investigator Leontyeva is in charge of the case.

Svetov's arrest is part of a new crackdown on the Russian Orthodox Church. Several significant transfers of Orthodox bishops from their positions to other dioceses were approved by the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in the last week of December 1984.

Svetov is the husband of Zoya Krakhmalnikova, who since 1976 had been the editor and compiler of the Christian samizdat journal, *Nadezhda: Khristianskoe Chtenie* [Hope: Christian Readings], which had a purely religious content and had found wide circulation in Russia. It was not only well read and studied, but also copied and distributed from hand to hand, bringing Christian spirituality to countless numbers.

Zoya Krakhmalnikova was arrested in Moscow in August of 1982 by the KGB and brought to trial after seven months of imprisonment. She was sentenced in April 1983 to one year in a prison camp and five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Svetov and Krakhmalnikova were university graduates and had both been members of the Soviet intellectual elite and literary establishment before they became active Christians. Their works had appeared in such publications as the prestigious "Novy Mir" and the "Literaturnaya Gazeta." When they were no longer able to publish their works in the Soviet Union, some of their writings were published in the West.

At the time of Svetov's arrest, a search was also carried out of Zoya Krakhmalnikova's living quarters in the central Siberian town of Ust-Kan, Gorno-Altay Autonomous Oblast, where she is serving a five-year exile sentence.

It is known that several searches were conducted in the homes of active Orthodox believers on or about the day of Svetov's arrest. A search at the home of Vladimir Zelensky, the author of a study on religious revival and the Orthodox Church, resulted in the confiscation of religious literature published in the West.

On the day of Svetov's arrest, a search was carried out in the home of Father Vladimir Shibayev of Moscow, who had signed a protest against the arrest of Svetov's wife, Zoya Krakhmalnikova, in 1982.

There was also a search of the home of a lay reader of the Saint Nicholas Church in Moscow, whose Christian name only is known: Konstantin.

At the same time a search was conducted in the home of personal friends of Svetov and Krakhmalnikova—Dmitry Serobyanov, a well-known art historian and professor at Moscow State University, and his wife, Elena Murina, also an art historian.

Krakhmalnikova's and Svetov's writings promote only Christianity and its principles of love, enlightenment, and peace, and there is nothing that can be construed as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" or "anti-Soviet slander," nothing that even implies the overthrow of the Soviet system.

Our prayers and support will help them. Please alert your religious communities to the plight of these courageous Christians and appeal for their freedom.

SERGEI MARKUS

An Orthodox Christian prisoner, Sergei Markus is serving a three-year labor camp sentence on charges of slandering the state and the social system of the USSR.

Markus was arrested on suspicion of possessing and distributing "anti-Soviet literature." A search of his home was conducted during which Bibles, other religious literature, and icons were confiscated by the KGB.

His closed trial took place in Moscow in July of 1984. No relatives or friends other than his wife were allowed in the courtroom. Markus's wife, Alla, was also ordered out of the courtroom when she refused to testify against her husband.

In the first days of November 1984 the Supreme Court of the RSFSR rejected Sergei Markus's appeal of his three-year sentence. On November 6th he was permitted a final, brief meeting with his wife. The authorities of the Moscow prison refused to allow Alla Markus to give her husband a Bible as a parting gift. However, Markus's wife and friends report that he is in good spirits, in spite of terrible conditions in the prison where he was kept during the pretrial period and until his appeal went through the Supreme Court, and almost two months of travel en route to the labor camp. He spent his time in prayer and meditation, in composing poetry. He is firm in the conviction that all that has happened to him is the will of God, and therefore for the ultimate best.

Markus, who is in his late twenties, is a graduate in history from the Moscow Pedagogical Institute. At the time of his arrest he was working as a researcher in the Village of Kolomenskoe' Museum, which is a division of the State Historical Museum and located within the city limits of Moscow.

Sergei and Alla Markus have four children, all under eight years of age.

An Appeal

Dear Friends,

For the past eight years—since 1977—the Committee for the Defense of Persecuted Orthodox Christians has directed much of its effort toward alerting the American public, media, politicians, Congress, and the executive branch to the plight of those who are suffering from oppression and persecution for their Faith, who are attempting to bring up their children in the moral values of Christ, and who have the courage to make the choice between a life of darkness and a life of spiritual fulfillment in Christianity. Through the Orthodox Monitor and supplemental Newsletters we keep subscribers informed of the problems of persecuted Orthodox Christians.

In 1984 we began production of a weekly 15-minute Russian-language shortwave radio broadcast to the Soviet Union—"The Life in Christ." Ninety programs have already been aired.

The Committee has been providing assistance to persecuted Orthodox believers and their families in the Soviet Union.

One example of the Committee's assistance to prisoners and internal exiles is providing them with supplies of multiple vitamins, which is vital for some of them.

Many people are recipients of the Committee's assistance and listeners to its broadcasts. We have given out silver crosses, icons with the image of the Miraculous Myrrh-bearing Mother of God, cottons with oil from the Icon, soil from the grave of Saint Herman of Alaska, other sacred relics, and also 2,500 rubles and vitamins to those in need. People have been overjoyed to receive icons and Bibles.

All of this was accomplished through the help and generosity of volunteers and contributors.

At this time, when new rulers in the Kremlin are trying to silence and disperse all dissent in the name of the people of the Soviet Union, more and more of these people—of all ages—are turning to religion and spirituality. More than ever these people need the aid and defense which such organizations as the CDPOC can provide. But the Committee cannot carry out its work without the moral and financial support of the American public.

Therefore, we appeal to you, to your faith, and to your generosity. Please help the Committee to help them. Please contribute as generously as you can.

Thank you and God bless you.

Fr. Victor Potapov
Chairmen

Alexis Zvonkov
Co-Chairman

Vladimir S. Tokatsy
Co-Chairman

We would like you to help us in this effort

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE

- Publications: **The Orthodox Monitor** — A bi-annual journal of articles, Samizdat material, and related literature.

  Orthodox Monitor Newsletter — A periodic current events publication, that updates events and activities affecting religious freedom.

- **CDPOC ASSISTANCE FUND** — Provides financial support to prisoners of conscience and their families.
- **RELIGIOUS BOOK FUND** — Purchases religious material for believers living in the Soviet Union.
- **RADIO FUND** — Funds Christian radio broadcasts to the U.S.S.R.

CONCERN FOR THE HEALTH OF CHRISTIAN PRISONERS (KNS):

According to reports from the Soviet Union, Russian Orthodox believer and writer Leonid Borodin, who was sentenced to ten years' special regime camp and five years' internal exile in 1983 on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," has failing eyesight, acute arthritis in both hands, and is suffering from a stomach ulcer. His weight has dropped to 113 pounds. Before his present sentence, Borodin had already served six years in the camps for having been a founder-member of the Social Christian Union for the Liberation of the People.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION (KNS):

*Russian Orthodox hieromonk, Fr. Pavel Lysakh, was tried in Moscow in December 1984 and sentenced to ten months' deprivation of liberty on charges of violating the internal passport regulations, but time spent in prison during investigation counts as part of the sentence. Fr. Pavel was arrested on August 4, 1984.

*Fr. Vladimir Fedorenko has been sentenced to five years in labor camps and is serving his sentence in camp YuE-312/33 in the Donetsk region of the Ukraine. The Russian Orthodox priest was arrested while in church some time prior to 1982, and he was beaten up at the time of arrest. The accusation against him was speculation in the icon business, but Fr. Vladimir was well known to the authorities for personal views which incurred their wrath and for the distribution of religious literature. The priest has been visited in the camp by KGB men on several occasions and has been subjected to taunts and even personal assaults by other prisoners.

*Reliable sources in Moscow report that Russian Orthodox Christian Vladimir Poresh, 35, was sentenced to a further three years imprisonment for "malicious disobedience to the requirements of administrative personnel of corrective labor institutions." Poresh was a leading member of the unofficial Christian Seminar in Leningrad, and was arrested in August 1979, tried in April 1980, and sentenced to five years' labor camp and three years' internal exile. He was moved from labor camp in September 1982 to the infamous Chistopol Prison. Instead of being sent from prison into internal exile when he had served his five years in August 1984, he was removed to investigative prison with the new charges being brought against him.

*Russian Orthodox priest Father Alexander Men, 50, is to be transferred to a parish outside the Moscow area. Father Alexander is both a priest and a theologian who has written extensively with clarity and perception on church history and the history of religion. Some of his work has been published in the West. Father Alexander is an extremely popular priest, especially among young people and "searching" nonbelievers, those wavering in their faith, and those new to Christianity. People find out about him by word of mouth, and come to see him from the far ends of the Soviet Union. He has been coming under increasing pressure from the authorities in recent years. He has never sought publicity and was himself never involved in dissident political activity. His home has been searched, and during 1984 he was questioned on a number of occasions, including the case of Sergei Markus, because Markus was one of his spiritual children. Father Alexander was called to give evidence against Markus, and was told by the prosecutor that legal examination had shown his writings to be anti-Soviet. The priest was warned that if he tried to exert anti-state influence on young people, he would be forbidden from serving in any of the Moscow parishes.

NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE TO BUY A BIBLE

In the Soviet Union the Moscow Patriarchate officially published the Bible in a very restricted number of copies. Hypothetically, one can buy a Bible in the church, but in reality this is next to impossible. Many believers sometimes long for years to buy a Bible or even to have one for a short period to copy, often by hand. According to the former chief researcher of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet Legislation of the Ministry of Justice of the USSR, Konstantin Simis, Bibles are not forbidden in the Soviet Union and can be resold as any other book if the resale is not with the intention of making a profit; they can be given away as well.

While in Paris, Mr. Gorbachev recently said that no political prisoners exist in the Soviet Union, but in reality there are many prisoners of conscience – who are considered political prisoners – in the labor camps of the Soviet Union, deprived of freedom, unable even to have a Bible, because they chose their Faith and God.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much.

In the Soviet Union, Orthodox believers, Baptists, Pentecostals, and Jehovah's Witnesses, among others, have been among those imprisoned by the state for conscience's sake. In particular, do you know what has happened to Sergei Markus, Alexander Riga (a Russian Catholic), and Viktor Walter (a Pentecostal)?

Father POTAPOV. I can say that Sergei Markus, who was, I believe, a guide at a museum in Golumsk, a village outside of Moscow—it is a museum village—he was the spiritual son of Father Alexander Min, who was a very popular Russian Orthodox priest outside of Moscow, who attracts a lot of young people.

Markus began a youth group, a discussion group, to study religion in Russian culture in Golumsk. This was obviously not to the agreement of the Soviet State, and he was suppressed and tried and sentenced to 4 years of deprivation of freedom in a prison camp in the Soviet Union.

I was in the Soviet Union last year, in December, and I visited Sergei Markus's wife, Alla, who is 23 years old, I believe, and they have four small children. She is forced to work as a cleaning woman cleaning offices at night.

We know very little about his condition in camp, unfortunately. Do not forget that the Soviet society is a very closed society, and any information that reaches us reaches us with great delay and usually comes in bits and pieces.

Regarding Alexander Riga, I cannot tell you off the top of my head how many years he was given. He spent time in a psychiatric hospital for his beliefs.

The third person, who was that?

Senator PRESSLER. Viktor Walter, a Pentecostal.

Father POTAPOV. Viktor Walter. I am not familiar with him. He is a Pentecostal in Siberia, in the village, I think, of Tribuyuvka. But, unfortunately, I am not prepared to give an answer on his status right now.

Senator PRESSLER. Ukrainian Catholics, numbering an estimated 4 to 5 million, are often described as "the Church of the Catacombs," in reference to the persecution directed against them since 1946. It is also said that some 50 percent of the unregistered Protestants in the Soviet Union are in the Ukraine. Would you comment on the suffering of the Ukrainian Catholics and Protestants and their continued resistance to oppression?

Father POTAPOV. Pardon me, but would you please repeat the second part of that question.

Senator PRESSLER. Would you comment on the suffering of the Ukrainian Catholics and Protestants and their continued resistance to oppression.

Father POTAPOV. I think what happened to the Ukrainian Uniates—the Uniates are basically Ukrainian Catholics who were forced to accept Orthodoxy by Stalin in the 1940's after the war—is an example of how the state used the church beginning during the war and directly after the war to force the nationalities, the Ukrainians, to give one example, to be tamed. Stalin did not want diverse groups in his country, so he decided that if he cannot destroy the church, he might as well at least force everyone into one group, if you will.

The Russian Orthodox Church was also used in the vanguard of Soviet foreign policy after the war as the Soviet Union was taking over Eastern Europe in reaching out to their brothers and sisters of the faith, and through them to work upon the rest of the populace to convince them of the need to become Communist.

As far as the Protestants of the Ukraine and of the Soviet Union in general, I think Pastor Georgi Vins would be able to give a much better answer than I ever would, being someone from the Ukraine himself and also a Protestant pastor.

Senator PRESSLER. I understand that in the Soviet Union and in other Communist lands, there is a distinction between registered and unregistered religious believers. How is this distinction applied in terms of state regulation and control, and why do many believers refuse to register? What are the consequences?

Father POTAPOV. First of all, many believers in the Soviet Union look upon the government as an anti-Christian or Antichrist government, especially the Adventists and many of the Pentecostalists see it that way.

They feel that if they register with an anti-Christian government or the government of the Antichrist, they are compromising or they are dealing with the Devil, literally. On the grounds of religious belief they refuse to do it.

Others, such as the Baptists, again, probably Pastor Vins will be able to answer this question better than I. They do not want to fall under the control of the government, as most of the registered churches are under the complete control of the government.

Senator PRESSLER. Senator Trible.

Senator TRIBLE. I have no questions.

I thank the witness for his testimony and also for the good work that he does.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

I have a few more questions to submit for the record. Staff will provide them to you, and I thank you very much.

Father POTAPOV. You are welcome.

THE MECHANICS OF RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION

Senator PRESSLER. Our second panel will concentrate on the mechanics of oppression.

Our panelists will be describing how Eastern bloc policy decisions are made as to which groups are persecuted, when, where, why, and how much.

If that panel would come forward, our first witness will be a noted Soviet dissident, who was personally imprisoned by the Soviets because of his religious beliefs.

Pastor Georgi Vins came to the United States after the United States exchanged two Soviet agents for Pastor Vins and four other Soviet human rights activists.

Pastor Vins founded the International Representation for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union, and edits its publication, "Prisoner Bulletin." Paston Vins served 3 years in a Soviet labor camp from 1966 to 1969, another year at mandatory labor in 1970, and was sentenced in 1975 to a total of 10 years in prison camp in exile.

Pastor Vins' elder son Peter spent a year in prison camp for having been a member of the Ukrainian-Helsinki monitoring group, and was beaten and threatened on many other occasions. Pastor Vins' mother Lydia Vins spent 3 years in a Soviet labor camp for her defense of civil rights for Christians, but was able to join her son in the United States in 1979, 6 years before her death.

Our other witness is Mrs. Olga Hruby. She was born in Czechoslovakia and came to the United States in 1949. She studied philosophy at the University of Prague and was active in student movements after the war. She represented the anti-Communist student factions, and after the Communist coup in 1948, she worked in the underground student movement.

She married her husband, an American citizen, in 1948. She is editor of "Religion in Communist-Dominated Areas," a quarterly scholarly journal published since 1962. She is also the deputy executive director of the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies in New York.

We welcome our panel.

As I mentioned, because of time constraints, we can only continue until about 1 p.m. We have asked our witnesses to summarize their remarks in about 8 to 10 minutes.

Their entire statements will be placed in the record so that we will have time for questions.

At this time, I call on Pastor Georgi Vins. Thank you very much for being here.

STATEMENT OF REV. GEORGI P. VINS, SECRETARY ABROAD FOR THE COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL BAPTIST CHURCHES IN THE SOVIET UNION, ACCOMPANIED BY MARY SMALENBERGER, INTERPRETER FOR GEORGI VINS, INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATION FOR THE COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL BAPTIST CHURCHES OF THE SOVIET UNION, INC.

Ms. SMALENBERGER. I will be translating for Pastor Vins.

Senator PRESSLER. Please pull the microphone up a little closer.

Reverend VINS. I want to begin with a verse from the Bible, from Proverbs, 24:11.

Senator PRESSLER. Would the translator pull the microphone a little closer and raise it up just a little bit? Thank you.

Reverend VINS. Rescue those being led away to death. Hold back those staggering toward slaughter.

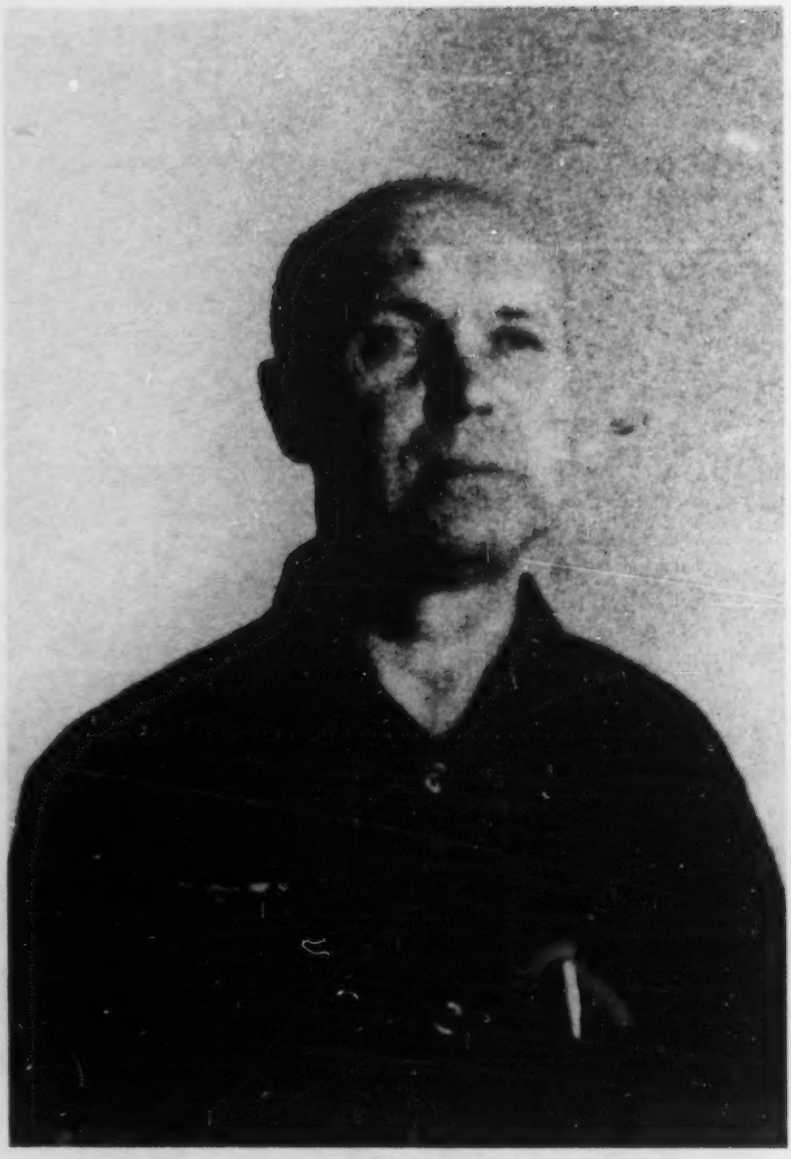
These words were recorded in the Bible about 3,000 years ago, but they remain in effect today, because in the Soviet Union today there are thousands of Christians who are literally being condemned to death. I am best of all informed about the situation of the Evangelical Christian Baptists in the Soviet Union.

Today, approximately 200 Evangelical Christian Baptists, pastors, preachers, and active Christian workers are being held in prisons and concentration camps. Their only crime is that they believe in God and want to tell others about God.

Some of them have been imprisoned for very long sentences. One of those is Pastor Nikolai Baturin, a Baptist pastor, who has been held for 23 years now. Pastor Nikolai Boiko, from the Ukraine, is now in his 16th year of imprisonment. Pastor Dmitri Minyakov is

now in his 10th year of imprisonment. He is due for release in January of next year, but already another case is being prepared against him. Pastor Minyakov is seriously ill. He suffers from tuberculosis, from heart problems, from asthma, and is near death.

[Photos of the pastors referred to follow:]



Pastor Nikolai Baturin

Pastor Nikolai Boiko

Pastor Dmitri Minyakov

RESENTENCING OF CHRISTIANS TO PROLONG IMPRISONMENT

Reverend VINS. A new method of persecution is being used against Christians now. It is repeated sentencing. When a person is nearing his release date, he is being rearrested and resentenced. Christian prisoners are resentenced because from the point of view of the camp administrators, these particular prisoners have not been reformed.

But how is it that a Christian can, in the Soviet understanding, be reformed? For a Christian, it would mean denying his faith in God, and that, of course, is impossible.

So, for all practical purposes, these repeated sentencings end up being lifetime sentences.

I have many documents from the Soviet Union. This [indicating] is just a sample. These are petitions written to the Soviet Government or actual proclamations against Christians from the government.

These [indicating] are documents that were addressed to the United Nations, to the Soviet Government, to Christians of the world, and to my office. They also are all signed.

Also in my hands [indicating] I have a small sampling of clippings from Soviet newspapers. These are from 1985. This just gives an overview of things happening across the country, the attacks made on Christians and the call from the government to attack faith in God.

These particular newspapers [indicating] are not from Moscow. They are from the Ural Mountains, from places in Siberia, from the Caucasus. For the most part, they are from towns where foreign tourists would not be visiting.

If there were time to translate all of these for you, you would see that Christians are being attacked and imprisoned for their faith in God alone.

The press in the Soviet Union is not a free press; it is state run and state owned. Therefore all things that are called for in the press eventually come to pass, in trials and in attacks against Christians.

So there is no doubt that the persecution of Christians in the Soviet Union is actual government policy coming straight from the party.

The greatest problem is that few people in the West know what is really happening to Christians in the Soviet Union. But that does not remove our responsibility to rescue those being led away to death.

As the representative of persecuted Evangelical Christian Baptists in the Soviet Union, I appeal to you to do all within your power to defend those who are being persecuted for their faith in God.

I did not come here in order to stir up hostility toward the Soviet Union. But, based on the word of God, I have the responsibility to challenge others to speak out and defend those who are unjustly condemned.

If there are any questions, I would be prepared to answer them.

[Reverend Vins' prepared statement along with responses to questions asked follow:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GEORGI P. VINS

PERSECUTION OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN BAPTISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

"Rescue those being led away to death; hold back those staggering towards slaughter" (Proverbs 24:11). These words were recorded in the Holy Bible more than 3000 years ago, and with these words of God I wish to begin my brief testimony about the oppression of Evangelical Christian Baptists in the Soviet Union.

There has been no religious freedom in the Soviet Union since atheists came to power in 1917, setting as one of their primary goals the eradication of religion. In this attempt to destroy faith in God, Soviet authorities use all accessible methods of persecution, including: arrests and trials; prison beatings; house raids and searches; confiscation of Bibles, New Testaments, tape recorders, cassette recordings of sermons and music; removal of children from Christian homes; disruption of worship services by the militia and KGB; slander campaigns against Christians in magazines, newspapers, on TV and radio; and internment in psychiatric hospitals.

The 1929 Legislation Regarding Religious Cults clearly reveals the official government policy on religion at the time of Stalin. The same laws remain in effect today. (Many secret mandates, instructions, and decrees have been added for the convenience of authorities in their warfare against God.) Since the 1929 Legislation went into effect, tens of thousands of Christians have been arrested and tortured in Soviet prisons and labor camps. Between 1929-1940, of Baptists alone more than 25 thousand pastors and preachers were arrested; 22 thousand of them died as prisoners. During the same years, almost all church buildings and temples were closed or destroyed.

Although the intensity of persecution has fluctuated over the years, it has never ceased. Today nearly 200 Baptist men and women are incarcerated for actively practicing their faith. Some have been repeatedly sentenced to many years in prisons and camps where they are slowly dying.

Life imprisonment for faith in God?

Pastor **Dmitri Minyakov**, 64, is serving his tenth year of imprisonment in a Siberian concentration camp. Critically ill with tuberculosis, asthma, and various stomach and heart ailments, he now weighs only 116 pounds at 5'10". Although Soviet law provides for the immediate release and return home of critically ill prisoners (Article 100 of the RSFSR Criminal Code), this law is rarely observed and was never applied to Pastor Minyakov.

Dmitri Minyakov's term will end January 1986, but it is doubtful that he will be released even then. A recent report from his family reveals that a new case is already being prepared against him. His case is one of many that reflect a new Soviet tactic in their battle to eliminate faith in God: in 1983 an appendix to RSFSR Criminal Code Statute 188-3 gave labor camp directors authority to add as much as five years to the sentence of a prisoner who has broken a camp rule or has not "reformed" by the end of his term.

The following "offenses" constitute sufficient cause for resentencing a Christian prisoner: praying, talking with other prisoners about God, possessing a Scripture portion, writing Bible verses or poems in a notebook, and referring to God in personal correspondence. By atheistic standards, a Christian has only adequately "reformed" if he rejects God and denies his religious convictions.

Nine Baptist ministers have been thus resentenced to consecutive terms: **Nikolai Baturin**, 58, now in his twenty-third year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1984 to two more years; **Yakov Skornyakov**, 57, now in his twelfth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1983 to three more years; **Rudolph Klassen**, 54, now in his ninth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1983 to three more years; **Aleksei Kozorezov**, 52, was imprisoned for 12½ years, resentenced in 1983 to 1½ years, (released June 1985); **Aleksei Kalyashin**, 30, now in his fifth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1984 to 2½ years; **Nikolai Boiko**, 63, now in his sixteenth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1985 to 2½ years; **Ivan Shidych**, 49, now in his seventh year, resentenced in 1985 to 2½ years; **Mikhail Khorev**, 54, now in his eleventh year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1985 to 2 more years; **Pyotr Rumachik**, 54, now in his sixteenth year of imprisonment, was not released August 1985, but transferred to prison for resentencing.

Other prisoners approaching release dates have been notified of new cases pending against them: **Ivan Antonov**, 66, serving his twentieth year; **Fyodor Makhovitsky**, 55, serving his eighth year; and **Dmitri Minyakov**, 64, serving his tenth year.

Psychiatric Hospital—for what?

Teaching religion to children, holding prayer meetings, organizing a youth choir, and participating in worship services were the charges against **Arkady Ivanov**, 52, when at his trial on June 21, 1983 he was declared dangerous to society and sentenced to treatment in a psychiatric prison.

State atheism is a God-fighting system, dedicated to the destruction of any remembrance of God. Ominous dangers are foreshadowed by Soviet abuse of psychiatry. Atheism considers faith in God abnormal. Simply acknowledging the existence of God is considered evidence of mental

disturbance. Innocent people have been diagnosed as "sluggish schizophrenics," committed indefinitely, and subjected to forced drug treatments.

Other Evangelical Baptist prisoners in psychiatric hospitals: **Anna Chertkova**, 57, since 1973; **Anatoly Runov**, 46, since 1979; **Vladimir Khailo**, 52, since 1980; **Vyacheslav Minkov**, 21, since 1984; **Viktor Bezzubenko**, since 1984.

Council of Prisoners' Relatives under attack

In 1964 the Council of Prisoners' Relatives (CPR) was organized by wives and mothers of imprisoned Baptist leaders. The CPR serves as an information network throughout the 2000 independent Evangelical Baptist churches across the country, coordinates the distribution of material aid for prisoners' families, and organizes petitions and telegrams in defense of the prisoners.

Soviet authorities, anxious to destroy the church, have finally resorted to arresting prisoners' wives. **Ulyana Germaniuk**, wife of prisoner Stepan Germaniuk, was arrested July 23, 1985. **Serfima Yudintseva**, wife of a pastor and mother of Baptist prisoner, Andrei Yudintsev, was sentenced on March 1, 1985, to two years imprisonment, effective March 1, 1987 (her youngest children are two and six). Criminal proceedings were started against **Valentina Firsova** not long after her husband's release. **Lubov Kostiuchenko**, wife of prisoner Grigory Kostiuchenko, and **Vera Khoreva**, wife of prisoner Mikhail Khorev were recently interrogated and threatened with arrest.

Just weeks after the release of her husband, **Aleksandra Kozorezova**, 49, mother of ten children, was forced underground as KGB agents sought to arrest and imprison her. For five years Mrs. Kozorezova actively awaited her husband's return from prison. Despite threats that he would be rearrested before seeing freedom, Aleksei Kozorezov was finally released on June 20. No sooner had Mr. Kozorezov returned to his family when KGB raided their home and conducted a search, this time looking for Mrs. Kozorezova. Local pastors promptly advised her to go into hiding and continue her ministry as director of the Council of Prisoners' Relatives.

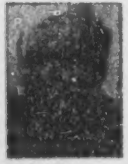
Consider your part

Over the years, Christians in the Soviet Union have sent thousands of petitions to the Soviet government detailing incidents of persecution and requesting that it be curtailed. I have at my disposal hundreds of copies of such documents. The authorities ignore the pleas of their people, responding only by intensifying the terror against Christians.

But the Soviet government is sensitive to the voice of the West. As citizens of the free world, we must do everything within our power to ease the suffering of innocent men and women, and defend their right to believe. This is what God Himself is calling us to do: "Rescue those being led away to death; hold back those staggering towards slaughter." Please consider your part in responding to this challenge.

Life imprisonment for faith in God? Baptist pastors face repeated sentencing

Ivan Antonov



Nikolai Baturin

Nikolai Boiko

Aleksei Kalyushin

Aleksei Kozorezov has been held under house arrest since his release last July and is now threatened with imprisonment. His wife, **Aleksandra Kozorezova**, was forced underground when police raided the Kozorezov home seeking to arrest her for involvement with the Council of Prisoners' Relatives, a committee of prisoners' wives and mothers who defend the prisoners and aid their families.

The intensity of Soviet persecution of religion fluctuates. Today about 170 Baptists are incarcerated for actively practicing their faith. One of them, Pastor **Dmitri Minyakov**, 64, is serving his tenth year of imprisonment in a Siberian concentration camp. Critically ill with tuberculosis, asthma, and various stomach and heart ailments, he now weighs only 116 pounds at 5'10". Although Soviet law provides for the immediate release and return home of critically ill prisoners (Article 100 of the RSFSR Criminal Code), this law is rarely observed and was never applied to Pastor Minyakov.

Dmitri Minyakov's term will end January 1986, but it is doubtful that he will be released even then. A recent report from his family reveals that a new case is already being prepared against him. His case is one of many that reflect a new Soviet tactic in their battle to eliminate faith in God: in 1983 an appendix to RSFSR Criminal Code Statute 188-3 gave labor camp directors authority to add as much as five years to the sentence of a prisoner who has broken a camp rule or has not "reformed" by the end of his term.

The following "offenses" constitute sufficient cause for resentencing a Christian prisoner: praying, talking with other prisoners about God, possessing a Scripture portion, writing Bible verses or poems in a notebook, and referring to God in personal correspondence. By atheistic standards, a Christian has only adequately "reformed" if he rejects God and denies his religious convictions.

Nine Baptist ministers have been thus resentenced to consecutive terms: **Nikolai Baturin**, 58, now in his twenty-third year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1984 to two more years; **Yakov Skornyakov**, 57, now in his twelfth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1983 to three more years; **Rudolph Klassen**, 54, now in his ninth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1983 to three more years; **Aleksei Kozorezov**, 52, was imprisoned for 12½ years, resentenced in 1983 to 1½ years, (released June 1985); **Aleksei Kalyushin**, 30, now in his fifth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1984 to 2½ years; **Nikolai Boiko**, 63, now in his sixteenth year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1985 to 2½ years; **Ivan Shidych**, 49, now in his seventh year, resentenced in 1985 to 2½ years; **Mikhail Khorev**, 54, now in his eleventh year of imprisonment, was resentenced in 1985 to 2 more years; **Pyotr Rumachik**, 54, now in his sixteenth year of imprisonment, was not released August 1985, but transferred to prison for resentencing.

Dmitri Minyakov.

Other prisoners approaching release dates have been notified of new cases pending against them: **Ivan Antonov**, 66, serving his twentieth year; **Fyodor Makhovitsky**, 55, serving his eighth year; and **Dmitri Minyakov**, 64, serving his tenth year.

Mikhail Khorev

Rudolph Klassen

Fyodor Makhovitsky

Pyotr Rumachik

Ivan Shidych

Yakov Skornyakov

International Representation for the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union, Inc. Georgi P. Vins, P.O. Box 1186, Elkhart, IN 46515 (219) 522-3486

RESPONSES OF REV. GEORGI VINS, INTERNATIONAL REPRESENTATION, INC. TO QUESTIONS ASKED

Question. Do you believe that your Council, and others like it, have been successful in advertising the plight of religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain? If so, has this increased publicity helped reduce the level of persecution? If not, why not?

Answer. I feel that the persecution of believers in the USSR should be widely publicized throughout the world. Every Christian prisoner, his family, the circumstances of his arrest, trial, imprisonment, and so forth, should be widely known, along with every incident of the disruption of worship services by the police and KGB, searches of believers' homes, and confiscation of Bibles and other religious literature.

Does this publicity help believers in the Soviet Union? Indeed it does! It exerts a restraining influence on the atheist authorities in the USSR. Soviet newspapers, which are organs of the Party, constantly harass believers and call for them to be cruelly dealt with. They recommend that Christians be deprived of jobs and houses and that their children be taken away and placed in state orphanages.

I have hundreds of clippings from Soviet newspapers containing slander and threats against believers. These articles are not found in the papers published in Moscow, which would be easily accessible to foreigners, but rather in areas hundreds and even thousands of kilometers from the capital.

There are two hundred Baptist prisoners in the Soviet Union, but the papers call for all Baptists to be arrested and imprisoned. From 1929 to 1940, 25,000 Baptist preachers and pastors were arrested, along with about the same number of Mennonite preachers and several thousand Orthodox priests. The vast majority of them perished in the prisons and camps. But the West remained silent and in fact knew very little about them. Today the atheist authorities in the USSR are hungry to destroy masses of believers again. By defending believers and widely publicizing their situation we can restrain the hand of the Soviet atheist authorities.

Question. Would you describe the mechanics of oppression? Specifically, could you describe how the authorities choose a particular individual or religious group for oppression, while other individuals and bodies are left relatively unmolested?

Answer. The KGB has a special department which struggles against religion and the church. Every active believer is on a special list. Baptists, in particular, are affected because the KGB persecutes all who are religiously active, who speak to others about God, open their homes for worship services, teach children and young people about God, refuse to act as informers for the KGB against the church, and refuse to accept government registration of churches.

Question. How have the Protestants in the USSR reacted to their oppression? When their churches were closed, did they stop having services? When religious instruction for children was prohibited, did they instruct their children in secret?

Answer. Unregistered Baptists meet for worship services all over the country. There are about 2,000 unregistered Baptist churches in the USSR; in Moldavia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan, the Caucasus, and so on. Worship services are held in houses and apartments, in tents, in believers' yards, under the open sky, in the forests, and other places. Most of the unregistered churches meet for three services each week. About half of the people in the unregistered churches are young, between the ages of fifteen and thirty. The number of Baptist believers is growing very rapidly.

Question. Are Protestant strategies of resistance against oppression different from those pursued by other groups. If so, are they any more effective?

Answer. There is a difference. Since 1965, unregistered Baptists have been united by the ministry of the unregistered Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches. The Council of Prisoner' Relatives has been in existence since 1964. This Council compiles lists of Evangelical Baptist prisoners, gives aid to their families, and petitions the government on their behalf. The Baptist are very active in practicing their faith, and are very strongly united, supporting and caring for one another. They operate secret presses which print only spiritual literature, Bibles, hymnbooks, and religious leaflets. Baptists also help other religious groups by sharing religious literature with them and caring for the families of their prisoners.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

I shall call upon Mrs. Hruby for her prepared statement before asking questions.

STATEMENT OF OLGA HRUBY, CODIRECTOR, RELIGION IN COMMUNIST DOMINATED AREAS, NEW YORK, NY, AND RESEARCH CENTER FOR RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CLOSED SOCIETIES

Mrs. HRUBY. It is a privilege to be here, especially in the presence of Reverend Vins, who was the first case we championed since our inception.

Senator PRESSLER. Would you pull your microphone up a bit closer, please?

Mrs. HRUBY. He is living proof that Christians and concerned individuals in the West can make changes in the Soviet system.

THE SECRET FUROV DOCUMENT

Several years ago, we translated and published an extensive secret document designated for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its author, Vasily Furov, Deputy Chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs which supervises all activity of all religious organizations in the Soviet Union, outlined in the document the ways and means used by the state to control the churches.

He specified the ultimate objective of the Soviet Government to eliminate all religion, and as an interim objective, he specified that the churches should be used exclusively to foster Soviet patriotism and to promote Soviet policies through various international ecumenical and so-called peace movements. Special cadres of clergy are trained for that service, and it is beyond any doubt that they are very successful in their mission in the Free world.

While the churchmen from the Soviet Union and its satellites are gaining ground in international religious organizations and movements, antireligious campaigns are being stepped up in most of the countries behind the Iron Curtain. They are characterized by paranoid fantasies about sinister global conspiracies plotted by the Vatican, the Zionists, the Muslims, and even the Evangelicals, and the mysterious clericalist circles.

Their tone resembles the propaganda in the days of Stalin.

Mikhail Gorbachev has done nothing to stop this antireligious campaign and the violations of human rights in the Soviet Union. On the contrary, under his administration, the attacks against religion have increased, as is evident from atheistic propaganda and from the frequent arrests and the incarceration of dissidents, activists, and believers, particularly members of the unregistered churches and the teachers and students of Hebrew and the Bible.

Several prisoners, above all representatives of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, have died in labor camps in recent months as a result of their mistreatment.

PERSECUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE

The persecution of churches in the countries behind the Iron Curtain more or less follows the Soviet pattern. The farthest from it are Hungary and East Germany, where the churches have some elbow room, though they are not free.

Most of the persecuted are conscientious objectors who refuse military service on the basis of their religious faith.

In Romania, which has avoided complete Soviet subjugation, the government is busy demolishing religious landmarks of great value and persecuting churches and clergymen in the true communist fashion. Occasionally President Ceausescu releases one or two of his prisoners and permits them to emigrate to show what a great humanitarian he is.

In Bulgaria, President Todor Zhivkov adapted Hitler's idea of racial purity to his Marxist purposes and decided to convert the large Turkish ethnic minority to Bulgarian nationality. He closed Turkish schools and mosques, razed Moslem cemeteries, and burned Turkish and Islamic books. The Turks are forced to adopt Bulgarian names and forbidden to speak Turkish or to wear ethnic costumes in public. Those who disobey these regulations are refused service in stores and markets, treatment in clinics, and admission to their places of work or to schools.

In addition to Moslems of Turkish ancestry, the Bulgarian Moslems, so-called Pomaks, are also victims of Zhivkov's aspirations for national homogeneity.

Poland is proof that there is strength in numbers. The Catholic Church there is monolithic and cannot be manipulated, particularly with a Polish Pope watching, so the Communist government uses methods of intimidation to make its point. The brutal murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko was publicized worldwide. However, since then, equally violent crimes committed by the police and their henchmen are in evidence, the most recent of them the death of an Orthodox priest, Father Piotr Poplawski, who was also murdered.

Czechoslovakia, once a model of democracy, is a particularly tragic example of Communist decadence and pathology. Long years in Stalinist prisons have not ennobled President Husak, who, with the entire party leadership, suffers from paranoia aggravated by the memories of the Prague spring in 1968, and by fears of a Czechoslovak version of the Polish Solidarity movement.

He became even more paranoid after the mass celebration of the anniversary of a Czech saint's death, which took place this July.

The impact of the Soviet invasion in 1968 was two-fold. Some citizens, who realized that they could not change the system, resorted to crass materialism, while others sought spiritual fulfillment in the church.

The government did its best to corrupt the clergy with bribes for cooperation and threats for disobedience.

Since the state has the power to approve or disapprove ministers for church service, it has the power to revoke their state license and eliminate them from church service.

But, even more than that, it tempts the clergy with promises of various benefits and concessions on the condition that they collaborate with the secret police. We know of specific cases where such offers were made, and rejected at a great cost to the individuals who refused to act as stool pigeons.

The restrictions imposed on all churches as well as discrimination of the believers in terms of employment and education led many Christians to the underground church which the state regards as a particular threat to its stability and security. The persecution of its suspected members ranges from house searches to vio-

lent physical assaults. Several secretly ordained priests and members of the underground church have been murdered or died under mysterious circumstances which the police never bothered to investigate.

As in Poland and Lithuania, where similar murders are taking place, the problem may be on the local level, where the low-ranking party officials and/or police are over-zealous enough to take the law into their own hands. However, such excesses could be stopped by prompt measures taken by superior authorities. This is not the case. On the contrary, the coverups suggest complicity of the superiors in such violent crimes.

In the Soviet Union, atrocities against defenseless clergy and believers are frequently the consequence of hostile propaganda carried out by the media. For instance, charges were made that some Evangelicals practice human sacrifice. A film with such insinuations was shown on Soviet television and prompted local thugs to prove their Soviet patriotism by beating innocent men, women, and children and burning their homes.

Naturally, the citizens of Eastern Europe are far too sophisticated to accept this crude propaganda. For their consumption, tales of conspiracies by the CIA, the Mossad, the Vatican, Zionism, Moslems, and those mysterious clericalist circles in the West are produced.

One of the latest inventions of this propaganda was the allegation that international Zionism, inspired by the Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky, arranged the murder of Jessica Savitch, the TV anchorwoman.

THE ABUSE OF THE CHURCH IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS

Among the Soviet controlled organizations on the international scene are the newly organized Religious Circles, an offshoot of the Soviet Peace Council and the Christian Peace Conference, or the CPC, whose headquarters are in Prague, Czechoslovakia. It has branches on every continent. Its leaders have obtained positions of influence in international denominational and ecumenical bodies; for example, in the Lutheran World Federation, in the World Council of Church, and in the National Council of Churches of the United States of America.

The CPC is one of the most vocal NGO's at the United Nations, where it postulates peace, the Soviet version that is, disarmament of the West, theology of liberation applicable to noncommunist countries, such as Puerto Rico, and it supports the PLO.

In its vitriolic attacks against the United States and Israel, it is unctuous in its praise of the peace-loving Soviet Union.

I am sorry that my time is up.

Senator PRESSLER. Your entire statement will be placed in the record.

Mrs. HRUBY. Thank you.

[Mrs. Hruby's prepared statement along with responses to questions asked follows:]

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
RESEARCH CENTER FOR RELIGION AND
HUMAN RIGHTS IN CLOSED SOCIETIES

RCDA RELIGION IN COMMUNIST DOMINATED AREAS

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10115, USA

TELEPHONE: 212-870-2481 OR 2440

Blahoslav S. Hruby
Executive Director and Editor

TESTIMONY OF OLGA S. HRUBY

RESEARCH CENTER FOR RELIGION AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN CLOSED SOCIETIES, Ltd.

Publishers of RCDA-- RELIGION IN COMMUNIST DOMINATED AREAS

Mr. Chairman,

It is a privilege to participate in these hearings, especially in the presence of Reverend Georgi Vins, whose case was among the first championed by our organization, the Research Center for Religion and Human Rights in Closed Societies, and by our journal, RCDA-Religion in Communist Dominated Areas. Since 1962 we have been documenting the situation of religion and human rights in totalitarian countries, mainly in Communist areas. Our documentation is derived from the official (Communist) materials and from underground (samizdat or private) sources.

Several years ago we translated and published an extensive secret report addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR by Vasily Furov, the deputy chairman of the Council on Religiosu Affairs which supervises the activity of all religious organizations in the USSR. The document outlines the ways and means employed by the state to control and manipulate the Russian Orthodox Church. The author makes it clear that the ultimate objective of the Soviet Government is total liquidation of all religion; as an interim objective he specified that the churches should be used to foster Soviet patriotism and to promote Soviet policies through various international ecumenical and so-called "peace" movements and organizations. Specially trained cadres of clergy are serving that purpose. There is no doubt that they have been very successful in their mission in the free world.

While the churchmen from the Soviet Union and its satellites are gaining ground in international religious organizations, anti-religious campaigns are being stepped up in most of the countries behind the Iron Curtain. They are characterized by paranoid fantasies about sinister global conspiracies plotted by the Vatican, Zionists, Muslims, Evangelicals, and the mysterious "clericalist circles" operated by the CIA and world capitalism. The tone of the anti-religious propaganda resembles the attacks in Stalin's days.

Mikhail Gorbachov has done nothing to stop the anti-religious crusade and the violations of human rights in the USSR and its satellites. On the contrary, under his administration, attacks against churches have been stepped up and arrests of dissidents, activists and believers increased.

The following is a brief outline of the siruation of religion in individual European Communist countries:

ALBANIA, the only atheistic state in the world, outlawed religion in 1967. The Constitution of 1976 defines all religious activities as criminal acts. There are documented cases of executions and murders of clergymen. All churches, mosques and monasteries were closed, converted to secular use, or razed.

BULGARIA follows the Soviet pattern. Its Constitution of 1971 guarantees freedom of religion, while Art. 23 of Law of February 26, 1949 prohibits organization of branches, missions, convents and charitable institutions of religious associations whose headquarters or centers are located abroad.

Education of children: strictly follows the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Religion instruction not permitted to persons under 16 years of age. Family is regarded as the "basic cell of socialist society." Article 63 of Law on Family (March 15, 1968) authorizes the people's court to remove children from families which do not comply with the demand that "education of children be conducted in the spirit of socialism and communism."

Atheistic propaganda is carried in the media and in special atheistic clubs. Persons who renounce religion receive special benefits.

Although basic rights of the large Moslem minority used to be officially recognized (President Zhivkov confirmed them publicly in 1982), a campaign to Bulgarize ethnic Turks and to abolish Moslem religion and culture was launched with force and cruelty. Mosques and medressas were closed, many sacred writings destroyed, cemeteries razed and the Turkish population forced to adopt Bulgarian names. The use of the Turkish language and the wearing of ethnic clothing in public is officially banned.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA constitutionally guarantees freedom of religion and "performance of religious rites, so long as it does not contradict the law." All churches and religious organizations are controlled by the Secretariat for Religious Affairs which has "in particular normative, guiding and controlling powers in all church and religious affairs."

Clergy cannot serve the church without state license which is issued after thorough investigation, but which may be revoked without any explanation and without appeal. The candidates for the ministry must pledge loyalty to the state. The salaries to the clergy and church employees are paid by the state (the current rate is about 40% of the average wage).

Education: The school has the duty to instill in children "the scientific view of the world" -- Marxism-Leninism and atheism. Religious instruction is permitted in school upon special petition signed by both parents, but they, the children and even the teachers are pressed by authorities to withdraw such applications. Students attending classes of religion are generally barred from higher education.

Practicing Christians are discriminated against in housing, employment and education. Secret agents are frequently present at church services.

Clergymen are offered bribes to join religious "peace" movements which closely collaborate with the government. Many were invited to cooperate with secret police.

Restrictions on the church, clergy and believers led to the establishment of a "secret" (underground, or catacomb) church, a frequent target of police harassment and persecution. Several members of the underground church were brutally murdered by unidentified assassins, or died under mysterious circumstances. Trials with clergymen and practicing Christians are documented in particular by Charter 77.

EAST GERMANY guarantees freedom of religion "in agreement with the Constitution and legal regulations in the GDR" in Art. 39 of the Constitution of 1968.

Religious education is optional, however, Christian children and teenagers are treated as second-class citizens. Young people are forced to participate in the Communist ceremonies of "youth consecration" and pledge allegiance to Marxism-Leninism.

Schools teach Marxism as the only "scientific view of the world." Students are required to attend military training in schools.

Churches are permitted to operate educational and training institutes, hospitals, nursing homes, day-care centers, kindergartens and recreational facilities. Religious services are broadcast on the radio.

Organizers and members of the unofficial peace movement and conscientious objectors, almost all practicing Christians, are persecuted.

HUNGARY -- Equality of all citizens is guaranteed by Art. 61 of the Constitution. Discrimination of citizens because of their faith is a punishable offense. Art. 63 guarantees freedom of conviction and freedom of religious worship and Art. 63.2 decrees separation of church and state.

The churches are supervised and controlled by the State Office for Church Affairs whose special departments oversee the activities of individual denominations. The Office for Church Affairs is firmly in the hands of the Communist Party. In addition, church secretaries, who are members of state security (secret police), supervise churches and clergy in individual districts and report their observation to the headquarters in Budapest.

The State Office for Church Affairs appoints clergy and faculty of theological schools. Admission of candidates for theological studies is drastically curtailed.

Education: Teaching of religion restricted to after-school instruction offered to 7-14 years old, with the exception of the children of the military and police personnel, Party members and teachers.

However, some secondary schools operated by churches are still in existence. Also, Hungary is the only country behind the Iron Curtain with a Jewish theological school.

Individual denominations are represented in the Hungarian Parliament, however, their influence on decision-making is minimal.

Persecution is aimed mainly at conscientious objectors.

POLAND -- Freedom of religion and separation of church and state are guaranteed by Art. 82 of the Polish Constitution. In 1982 the Patriotic Movement of National Renewal -- a coalition of the Polish United Workers (= Communist) Party and its adjunct small political parties -- declared equality before law for all citizens.

About 90% of Polish citizens belong to the Catholic Church whose strength is unequaled in any of the Communist-dominated countries. Therefore, the Communist government must strive to achieve some modus vivendi with the hierarchy and the Vatican and make certain concessions.

The Catholic Church operates a university. Unlike other Communist countries, it does not suffer from shortage of clergy and is able to send missionaries abroad. Churches are being built particularly in new settlements.

Education: School instills in students the so called "scientific point of view" -- Marxism-Leninism. Religion may be taught after classes.

Targets of persecution are activist priests and believers, primarily members of the Solidarity movement.

RUMANIA -- The Constitution of 1965 guarantees freedom of religion, but Art. 51 of the law on rituals of 1948 grants "unrestricted control of church teachings and church administration" to the Ministry of Cults, and Art. 40 of the same law prevents contacts with religious associations abroad, unless they are authorized by the Ministry of Cults and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Rumanian Orthodox Church is the second largest Orthodox church (after the Orthodox Church in the USSR), with some 16 million members (out of 21 million Rumanian citizens). Catholics and Protestants in Rumania are mostly members of national minorities (Hungarians and Germans) and frequent targets of persecution and discrimination, especially in the provinces of Transylvania and Moldavia. The Uniate Church was abolished and its members transferred to the Orthodox Church.

Education: Religious instruction is discouraged and restricted. Teachers of religion are not permitted to use any teaching aids and reading materials, including the Bible, and children cannot take any notes in classes of religion.

Agents of secret police shadow the believers and clergy. Trials of churchmen are frequent, however, the government is sensitive to public outcry abroad and when pressed, makes concessions.

At present, it is engaged in vandalism resembling the early Bolshevik destruction of churches. Many buildings of churches have been torn down, regardless of their inestimable historical and artistic value.

USSR -- Art. 124 of the Constitution guarantees freedom of religious faith as well as freedom of atheism. In addition, it grants the right to conduct atheistic propaganda, without extending the right of evangelization to religious denomination and organizations. Thus, "religious propaganda" is unlawful and state authorities have the prerogative of determining what is included in that term. For all practical purposes, "religious propaganda" encompasses the Bible, Koran and other sacred books, hymnals, prayerbooks, all religious literature which deals with the issues of faith in a positive way, and furthermore, rosaries, pictures of saints, phylacteries and other religious articles.

All activities of the churches and religious organizations are controlled by the Council on Religious Affairs which is accountable to the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Education: Classes of Marxism-Leninism and atheism in all schools are compulsory. Teaching of religion to persons under 18 years of age is not permitted. The duty of the family is to bring up children "in the spirit of Communism"; believers may be deprived of parental rights and their children placed in state orphanages. Children of believers are subjected to harassment in school and as a rule, not admitted to higher educational institutes.

The Bible and all religious materials are in great demand. In recent years tapes of foreign broadcasts have been used as study materials.

Separation of church and state is constitutionally guaranteed, yet the state is constantly meddling into internal affairs of churches and in the citizens' private lives. Atheistic propaganda is carried out by specially trained "agitators" in schools, enterprises, collective farms and "clubs of atheism" in every location. Periodically, campaigns are conducted on person-to-person basis, with propaganda teams visiting the homes of the believers and persuading them to abandon their faith. Atheistic propaganda and attacks against believers in the media cannot be rebutted.

Practicing members of any religion cannot be appointed or elected to public offices and positions of influence and leadership. They have no representation in any of the administrative and legislative bodies or educational and cultural institutions.

Ethnic groups whose national identity is kept alive in the church or mosque are particularly vulnerable to campaigns organized by the state which intends to deprive the minorities of their history. Soviet Jews cannot learn about their history. The Moslem nation of Crimean Tatars, among others, was decimated by Stalin in 1944 and expelled from its ancestral lands. Although more than 30 years have passed since Stalin's death, no attempt has been made by any of his five successors to make amends for his atrocities committed against that nation which still cannot reclaim its heritage. The Ukrainian Uniate Church has been abolished. The Lithuanian Catholics and Latvian and Estonian Lutherans are subjected to religious and ethnic persecution. So are all other minorities absorbed by the Soviet Union which is trying to homogenize them into the plastic image of the "new Communist man."

This plan is thwarted by the churches which are the only organized entities in the USSR that offer a non-Marxist, non-Communist ideology, however limited their possibilities may be. The Soviet system has proven beyond any doubt that Marxism is not viable, if not supported by tight state control and terror. The explanation is simple: Marxism -- Communism -- is against human nature. From history we know that even communism inspired by the purest religious motives could not survive. In this century Communism was always imposed by force or by deceit and maintained by force and terror which has destroyed millions of people.

Most of Marxist theories were put to test in Kampuchea under Pol Pot and their practice exceeded even Hitler's atrocities. Another example of triumphant Communism was China during the Cultural Revolution. Albania also achieved a world record in government-imposed madness.

From the above thumbnail outline of the situation of religion in Communist-dominated countries we may see that with the exception of Albania all guarantee religious freedom, however, then they modify it by various laws and regulations which state authorities interpret in their own way. In addition to the published laws and decrees governing religion, there are regulations that are not published and that are communicated to Party and state officials who can apply them as they wish. They are supported by the whole propaganda apparatus organized and financed by the state.

Moreover, the police force is used to suppress religion. The results of its intervention were vividly illustrated in the trial with the murderers of F. Jerzy Popieluszko in Poland. His case was unique in that the killers were brought to court. However, in scores of other recent murders of clergy and religious activists no attempt was made to investigate the circumstances of death. We may refer to the cases of priests assassinated in Lithuania, in Czechoslovakia and in Poland, the most recent of them the murder of a Polish Orthodox priest, F. Piotr Poplawski. Most of these cases were simply swept under the rug with the verdict of suicide as the cause of death. The explanation is simple: suicides cannot be buried by the Church in a consecrated ground, thus, large gatherings of the faithful at funeral services are prevented and in addition, a shadow of doubt is cast on the memory of the deceased.

Moslem clergymen, imams, also are dying as victims of Communist terror. The following are the names of imams killed recently in Bulgaria: Enbiya Omerov of Podayva-Razgrat; Islam Hafizoglu of Varna; Halis Koseoglu of Varna; Omer Sukruoglu of Varna; Ibram Hoca of Varna; and Ibrahim M. Sakirov of Tristenik-Ruse.

In the USSR nine Moslems were recently sentenced in Uzbekistan to terms of 4 to 7 years for disseminating purely religious literature.

Imprisonment is a very useful mechanism of religious oppression because it removes the activists from society, intimidates other citizens, and above all, provides cheap labor forces -- in fact, slaves -- whom we know from the works of Alexander Solzhenitsyn and others.

Another favorite solution applied by Communist regimes against dissidents is commitment in psychiatric hospitals which is usually open-ended. Since faith in God is considered a symptom of insanity, many believers are inmates of such snake pits.

Persons are the property of the state and may be exploited or destroyed without impunity. Parents have the obligation to bring up their children in the "spirit of Communism," otherwise they may lose their rights to their children. I should like to illustrate this on a recent case from Czechoslovakia: A Catholic mother gave birth in a hospital to a healthy baby boy. When she was checking out, the administrator told her that her child would not be released. As a matter of fact, the baby had been given for adoption which was irreversible. The parents tried to find legal aid and appeal the decision. Instead, they were committed to a mental hospital for observation. After their release they learned that, with the exception of their eldest child, their other children had been placed in state orphanages. Although the parents are sane and responsible, their religious faith makes them social outcasts who cannot demand that justice be done.

Many believers have passed through the revolving doors of Communist prisons and mental hospitals. In addition to the inmates, there are families which are victimized by Communist "justice." The deprivation and discrimination which they must suffer must be regarded as yet another mechanism of the struggle against religion.

Under such circumstances it is no wonder that there are clergymen and laymen who consent, however reluctantly, to collaborate with the regime. There are organizations which pay lip service to the Communist system -- the PAX association in Poland, the Pax in Terris Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy in Czechoslovakia, and above all, the Christian Peace Conference (CPC) whose headquarters are in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and whose controls are in the Kremlin. A new entity has been added recently -- the Religious Circles Convocation, an offshoot of the World Peace Council.

It would be overly simplistic to assert that, for instance, the officials of the CPC are Communists. The truth is that the purpose and the operations of the CPC are pro-Soviet and undemocratic. Some of its leaders from the Communist-dominated countries may rationalize their participation by belief that in this way they are serving their church and protecting it. In all fairness, it would be difficult to demand from them that they act against the orders from Moscow. However, the participants from the free world should challenge the biased, sycophantic statements and resolutions of the CPC and insist on more balanced positions. Instead, as we know, frequently the most aggressive anti-American and anti-democratic pronouncements of the CPC have been inspired by delegates from the West, particularly West Germans and certain Americans. It is true that some Americans objected to the one-sidedness of the CPC, however, they were unable to marshal sufficient support. Thus, the words and deeds of the CPC remain biased in favor of the USSR, the PLO, the theology of liberation (which is understood as liberation of the non-Communist countries, such as Puerto Rico; it does not apply to the Baltic states, Cuba, Angola and the Soviet orbit), etc. There is no condemnation of the aggression against Afghanistan, of the intervention in Ethiopia, Angola and Mosambique, the Soviet biological warfare, the violations of human rights in the Communist-dominated countries, the genocide and other

atrocities perpetrated by Communist governments. The CPC pays no attention to them.

Some time ago a Catholic priest from a Communist country came to my office. I had known his name from various journals -- he collaborated with his government and was rewarded for his services by the coveted privilege of foreign travel. Yet this clergyman who had compromised himself by his support of the Communist regime admitted to me that he and all those in similar positions had to follow a certain script in his public pronouncements and could not deviate from the guidelines given to them by the authorities, yet they could report during the mandatory debriefing any challenges to their statements and any criticism of the situation of religious freedom and human rights in their country. This would give them some leverage in dealing with Communist officials. However, he was disappointed that the American audiences and individuals whom he had encountered during his visit in the USA seemed to accept his assurances of freedom of religion behind the Iron Curtain without any objections.

Other clergymen from Communist countries expressed the same dismay and frustration at the complacency of Americans as regards the situation of churches and religion behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. This attitude may stem from ignorance of Communist reality or from wishful thinking that the conditions are improving. In other instances the people in the free world, particularly some Americans, seem to enjoy self-flagellation, a belief that all evils in the world today are made in the USA. Another current fad is the trust in quiet diplomacy. From our own experience we have every reason to doubt this gentle solution to terrible problems.

It would be highly unrealistic to expect some spontaneous reversal in Communist policies to the benefit of human rights and religious freedom. We have seen several changes of the guard in Moscow, but very few fundamental changes in Communist policies and objectives. Nevertheless, some changes may be brought about by external pressures, by linkages, by an uncompromising stance of the free world.

As members of one of the most influential body in the world, it is in your power to demand that the Soviet leaders learn civilized behavior. That includes respect for human rights and freedom of conviction of every citizen.

I believe that an improvement in the Soviet attitude to those issues would be the greatest contribution to peace, justice and stability in the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

RESPONSES OF OLGA S. HRUBY TO QUESTIONS ASKED BY SENATOR PRESSLER

Question. The condition of religious communities and of believers is somewhat different in each country of Communist-dominated Eastern Europe. Would you describe the differences among these states in their policy, official and actual, toward religion and religious belief?

Answer. Official policies of Communist states toward religion depend to a major degree on such factors as tradition, the strength of the church, the use the government can make of it (for example, in promoting its policies abroad), etc. Furthermore, the international situation may determine with attitude of the Communist system toward religion. At some points one group may be singled out for particular persecution—for example, the Jews are charged with subversion or international conspiracy. This was the case in Stalin's days and is now—a recent article in Soviet press accused Jews (described as Zionists) of the murder of the American anchorwoman, Jessica Savitch.

The Vatican is a frequent target of Communist attacks in some countries behind the Iron Curtain, especially since the election of John Paul II. While no campaign of slanders against him would succeed in Poland, in Czechoslovakia all signals are go for the worst kind of calumny against the Pope who frightens the insecure Husak administration.

Occasionally certain denominations receive better treatment from the government; the objective is to isolate them from the majority church (this is the case of Protestant churches in Poland). However, in general the largest churches are able to resist the pressures of the state, if their leadership is not corrupted by the system. The Catholic Church in Poland is an example of a strong, vital and courageous opponent to the Communist state. On the other hand, the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church is very much under Communist control. That is not to say that all bishops and metropolitans are crypto-Communists or pro-Communist. The issue of their loyalty is discussed in the Furov Report (RCDA, V. XIX, Nos. 10, 11 and 12) which shows the division in their attitudes.

Naturally, the most persecuted groups are the catacomb or underground churches and the pacifists. Nevertheless, all Communist states regard religion as the opiate of the people which must be eliminated one way or another. I know of only one exception—some ideologists in Yugoslavia acknowledged that religion is a valid human postulate and that Marxist condemnation of religion cannot be sustained; in fact, they recognized the fact that Marxism is an outdated doctrine no longer applicable in our days. Of course, this was not the official position, only a discussion of scholars. The government of Yugoslavia still adheres to Marxism, although it may be less rigid than the systems in the Soviet orbit.

Question. There are numerous restrictions, open and covert, that forbid or limit the publication or free circulation of religious texts, including scriptures such as the Bible and the Koran. Would you comment on the extent and effectiveness of such prohibitions? Compare and contrast Eastern Europe and the USSR in this regard. What are the results for those who engage in "illegal" study and circulation of sacred texts?

Answer. It is in the interest of Communist governments to restrict the publication and circulation of religious texts as much as possible, because such writings contradict the official doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Marx teaches class hatred, Christ teaches love and truth which makes man free. In communism, there is no freedom, nor is there a standard of morality other than that which serves the purposes of Marxism.

The Old Testament and Koran pose the same problem for Communist dictatorships. Therefore, it is quite understandable why there is a ban on dissemination of religious literature, including the sacred books.

Limited editions of the Bible and Koran are published once in many years, but we have information that even those copies are not distributed among the believers. In the storerooms of the Moscow Partriarchate and in the All-Union Baptist center stacks of Bibles and hymnals are kept as proof that there is no shortage of Bibles in the USSR. The fact that the Bible or Koran fetches the equivalent of one month's salary at the black market confirms that the demand for sacred writings is great.

Printing shops for samizdat Bibles and other religious literature have been set up in the USSR; particularly the unregistered Baptists are very adept at such ventures. However, the need is great. Some Bibles are smuggled in, but certainly not as many as some organizations in the West would want us to believe. Customs officials usually permit the tourists to bring in one Bible and confiscate anything above that. Yet those agents know well the price of black-market Bibles and frequently sell some of the confiscated copies and pocket the profit. Theft, pilfering and deceit are some of

the by-products of Communism which also fosters a special kind of private enterprise.

Because theological study and discussion is not open to laymen, various private groups began to meet to exchange views and information about religion. This was, for instance, a Russian Orthodox group which studied the Bible and church history. Or Jews, cut off from their tradition, felt the need to learn about their roots and began to study the Old Testament and the Hebrew language. They and other such "illegal" study groups are being hounded by the police and treated as criminals. In recent months many teachers and students of Hebrew and Judaism were sentenced to long terms in prison on charges of "hooliganism," an all-purpose charge which Soviet prosecutors apply with great flexibility when they lack evidence.

Question. In the Soviet Union, Orthodox believers, Baptists, Pentecostals, and Jehovah's Witnesses have been among those imprisoned by the state for conscience' sake. Please compare and contrast the conditions facing these various groups. Are any groups suffering considerably less than other groups? If so, why?

Answer. Jehovah's Witnesses do not have any legal standing in the USSR and operate underground mainly in the western areas of the USSR.

Orthodox, Baptist, Pentecostal and Adventists congregations may be organized under very rigorous conditions, but must be registered by the state and thus, open to government control and manipulation. Since the Soviet Constitution stipulates separation of church and state, many Christians, mainly Evangelicals, demand that they be able to worship without any intervention by the state. This split many denominations; the majority are registered and supervised by the government, however, a sizeable part of believers formed the underground church which is growing despite the continuous persecution.

It is difficult for me to measure the amount of suffering. I believe that all churches and religious groups in the USSR suffer because their members are second- or third-class citizens, who are subjected to discrimination, humiliation and arbitrariness from cradle to grave. We in the free world cannot even fathom the sacrifice of these courageous people.

They need our help. If we support them, we support the best in the Soviet Union—the people who share the same Judeo-Christian heritage and who are not interested in world domination, expansion and aggression. Yet we are unable to recognize this fact.

Question. Ukrainian Catholics, numbering an estimated 4 to 5 million, are often described as "the Church of the Catacombs" in reference to the persecution directed against them since 1946. It is said also that some 50 percent of the unregistered Protestants in the Soviet Union are in the Ukraine. Would you comment on the suffering of Ukrainian Catholics and Protestants and their continuing resistance to oppression?

Answer. Since the October Revolution the entire Ukrainian nation has been martyred by the Soviet government, even by Soviet leaders who were Ukrainians by birth (Khrushchev was a Ukrainian, Brezhnev was born in the Ukraine) or by descent (Chernenko). Stalin created artificial famines which decimated the country—once the breadbasket of Europe—and helped disperse a good part of its population.

As in other non-Russian republics, attempts to Russify or rather Sovietize the people are underway and for that reason, the regime is particularly bent on destroying Ukrainian intelligentsia. In a little over a year, five most prominent members of the Ukrainian cultural elite—Oleksa Tykhy, Valentin Sokolov, Yuri Lytvyn, Valery Marchenko and Vasyl Stus—died in labor camps. Several others were murdered.

The stepped-up persecution of the Ukrainians represents a Soviet attempt to avert a potential contagion of the Ukrainian nation by the Solidarity movement from the neighboring Poland. For that reason, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is a special target of Soviet oppression. The Uniate Church—i.e., the Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite, which recognizes the Pope as its head—has been completely abolished in the Ukraine (and in Czechoslovakia), but it continues to live underground, in the catacombs. The Soviets feel threatened by it and by the unregistered Evangelical congregations which, too, keep alive the Ukrainian language, customs and national identity.

I should like to stress that the suffering of Christian churches in the Ukraine is matched by the suffering of the Lithuanian Catholic Church.

Also, please let me add that the Soviets are spreading anti-Semitism in the Ukraine, as may be documented by the continuous vicious political cartoons in Ukrainian press which depict Jews as partners of the Nazis. The same charge—collaboration with the Nazis—is frequently made by the Soviets against the Uniates, the Catholics and Evangelicals, particularly when other grounds for prosecution are lacking.

Question. What is the condition of the Romanian evangelist Constantin Sfatcu and what does it reveal regarding the situation in Romania today?

Answer. The latest information concerning Constantin Sfatcu concerns the court decision by which his sentence was reduced from 7½ to 4½ years.

The original sentence was based on charges of attempted murder—Pastor Sfatcu was accused of trying to kill a policeman. The review charged him with use of force.

Actually, Pastor Sfatcu, a Baptist minister, was stopped on the road and his automobile searched. Some religious literature was confiscated.

The charges of murder attempt are characteristic for the paranoia of the Ceausescu government which follows the Stalinist line in its internal policies, while in international affairs its attitudes are relatively independent of Moscow.

Ceausescu installed his relatives in positions of power in the government. Thus, he is, for the time being in absolute control of the country. His administration is hostile to all religions, but particularly to the denominations of ethnic minorities, above all, of Germans and Hungarians.

Ceausescu is a megalomaniac who posed recently for a portrait with a royal sceptre. However, he is sensitive to pressures from the West and does yield to demands in behalf of prisoners of conscience. He has released a number of them and permitted them to emigrate when he felt that the most favored nation status of Romania might be endangered by his violations of human rights. Let us not be deluded by these gestures. They cost him nothing.

Question. Is it true that the Romanian government recently crushed large numbers of Hungarian bibles into toilet paper, as reported before a Senate hearing in the International Trade Subcommittee on July 23? Are these and other similar tactics used to intimidate Christians in Romania?

Answer. This is not the first time that the Romanian government found other uses for the paper from the Bibles. About 15 years ago Bible Societies in the West donated a large amount of fine paper to Romanian churches so that Bibles could be printed in that country. The government seized the paper and used it to print propaganda newsletters designated for readers abroad.

The fact that Hungarian Bibles were used for the manufacture of toilet paper shows Ceausescu's contempt for the Holy Scriptures, for religion in general and for the Hungarian nationality. Furthermore, it shows what a crude boor he is.

I would say that his tactics of this sort humiliate Christians more than they intimidate them. Again, I should like to underscore the vandalism perpetrated by the Romanian government which is destroying church buildings—national treasure which cannot be replaced.

Because Ceausescu appears as a maverick in the Soviet orbit, the West tends to forgive him or overlook many of his crimes.

Senator PRESSLER. We thank you very much.

Reverend Vins, as I understand it, there were compromises made by government-approved churches in the early 1960's. Some individuals and their leadership chose to leave the registered congregations rather than condone government interference in church affairs; that is, some made compromises and stayed in the churches, and others went outside, to leave the registered congregations.

Reverend VINS. After the revolution, the new government started to carry out policies designed to subject the church to itself, to the government. In 1929, a special legislation was passed, the legislation on religious cults. It was an anti-Christian legislation.

It contradicts the Gospel, and many people refuse to register and have any contact with the government because those contacts are based on the legislation of 1929.

So today there are basically two groups of Christians in all denominations: Those who accept this legislation and those who do not.

But both the registered and the unregistered Christians suffer because of that legislation.

In the 1960's, groups of Baptists broke off from the registered churches and began the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches,

which is basically an association of unregistered churches, now numbering about 2,000 congregations.

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Chairman, may I just interrupt for a moment.

Regrettably, I am going to leave the hearing. I want to thank the witnesses for their presence here today.

I would ask unanimous consent that a statement that I had prepared and had hoped to give at the outset of this hearing appear as if read, following the remarks of Senator Boschwitz, at the outset.

Senator PRESSLER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Let me continue my question.

HOW GOVERNMENT "REGISTRATION" GREATLY RESTRICTS THE PRACTICE OF RELIGION

As I understand it, these people who do not register meet in homes and in forests, rather than in the luxury of State-controlled churches. What is the advantage of not belonging to the State-controlled church? Specifically, what acts, procedures, or activities would be prohibited? Do you feel that the ministers and people who go to the State-controlled churches are making a great compromise?

Reverend VINS. Registration demands the complete contact of a pastor or preacher with the government. It also forbids any type of Christian work among children, teenagers, and young people. The government controls who can become a church member, specifically who can be baptised. The government has to authorize baptisms. Because of such restrictions, thousands of congregations, both Baptist, Pentecostal, and other denominations, refuse registration in order to have freedom according to the Gospel.

So a church that is registered has agreed to compromises. As a result, in the registered churches, you have congregations made up primarily of elderly people, with very few children or teenagers.

Another problem is that the pastors of the registered churches become puppets in the hands of the government, and they can be used as the government leaders please. One of the ways they are used is by being sent to the West and repeating what the government has told them to say.

Senator PRESSLER. I will go back and forth with our witnesses.

Let me address the next question to Mrs. Hruby.

The 1,100th anniversary of the death of St. Methodius, in 1985, was an occasion for Czech religious enthusiasm and state disapproval. Are you familiar with this celebration and its impact in Czechoslovakia and among Slavic Christians generally?

Mrs. HRUBY. That was the greatest manifestation of national unity of Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks since 1969. There were hundreds of thousands of people coming from all over the country to a small town to celebrate this anniversary, which became a manifestation also of political opposition.

Surprisingly enough, the government buckled down enough to permit some televised shots from the Mass in the news.

Senator PRESSLER. What kind of restrictions are intended to prevent churches or even families from giving religious instruction to

children? What penalties are imposed upon parents who teach religious instruction to children?

Mrs. HRUBY. Well, the constitution gives them that permission, to teach children religion. However, both parents and schools are very much discouraged, and pressures are put on parents indicating that children who attend religious instruction will not be permitted to pursue their education on a higher level.

From a friend who is a school teacher in Czechoslovakia, I know that she is given a special bonus if a child drops out of religious classes. So it is in the interest of the teacher to persuade the parents or to put such pressures on the child that he or she drops out.

Normally, of course, the parents have the right to register a child for the classes in religion. This, of course, is only in Eastern Europe, not in the Soviet Union, where children under 18 are not permitted to participate in any church activity.

Senator PRESSLER. The persecution of Christians and Moslems in Albania has been often ignored. For example, Bishop Nikole Troshani is still in prison——

Mrs. HRUBY. I believe he just died.

Senator PRESSLER. He just died?

Mrs. HRUBY. I am not certain, but I believe that he died very recently.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much for that information.

Mrs. HRUBY. I would have to check on that, but that was the rumor.

THE TENUOUS SURVIVAL OF RELIGION IN ALBANIA

Senator PRESSLER. What is the present condition of Albanian Catholics and other religious believers in the light of that nation's policy of religious genocide?

Mrs. HRUBY. Well, all churches were outlawed and religion was prohibited in Albania, and there are no outward signs of it. There are underground communities, mostly family members worshipping together in secret, under penalty of law, of course. Priests were executed for baptizing children.

Not much specific information is available. We know that religion survives, but under extremely difficult conditions.

Senator PRESSLER. I might ask this next question of both of you.

How many prison camps are there in the Soviet Union? Are there some reserved for women and children? Are there special prison camps for victims of religious persecution? How many prison camps are there in Eastern Europe, and are some specially reserved for victims of religious persecution?

Reverend VINS. It is hard to give a clear picture from the statistics. But we know that there are between 4 and 5 million prisoners in the Soviet Union today. There are special concentration camps for political prisoners, but not for religious prisoners. They are held together with common criminals. There are separate men's camps and women's camps.

Mrs. HRUBY. In Eastern Europe, there are no prisons or camps for children. Children are either sent to orphanages or given up for adoption.

They are taken away from their parents under some pretext. I could only speculate how many prison camps there are. There are various levels of incarceration, and I really do not have an exact number. But there are far too many.

Senator PRESSLER. What is the condition of Romanian evangelist Constantin Sfatcu, and what does it reveal regarding the situation in Romania today? Maybe I am mispronouncing his last name. It is S-F-A-T-C-U.

Mrs. HRUBY. My best recollection was that he was seriously ill. The latest from Romania was the release of Father Calciu and his emigration. The discrimination against believers continues unabated. It seems to be increasing with the decline of Ceausescu's power. Always in a time of crisis, either economic or political, the churches are the first target of persecution.

Senator PRESSLER. I have a final question for Reverend Vins and then I have some written questions for each of you that staff will submit.

Dr. Vins, you have worked most closely with the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches of the Soviet Union. What other councils—such as yours have been established on behalf of other Christian churches, both in the U.S.S.R. and in Eastern Europe?

Reverend VINS. In the Soviet Union, there are two groups of Baptists. One is represented by the Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches, the CEBC, and the other is the registered group, the AUCECB, the All Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptist.

The Council of Evangelical Baptist Churches, the unregistered group, has no ties to the World Council of Churches. The CEBC has been functioning since the early 1960s. Almost all of the members of the council are in prison today.

There are no other councils in the Soviet Union which unite Baptists besides the CEBC and AUCECB.

In other countries of Eastern Europe there are official Baptist unions. In Romania there is the unregistered Baptist Church as well. Of course, the officially recognized Baptist unions in Eastern Europe are in close contact and quite dependent upon their governments. Nevertheless, their condition is much better than that of the Baptists in the Soviet Union.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

Senator Pell.

Senator PELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I congratulate you for holding this hearing. It is much needed.

I ask unanimous consent that my opening statement be inserted in the record.

Senator PRESSLER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

[Senator Pell's statement follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR PELL

Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased that the Subcommittee on European Affairs is holding this hearing on religious persecution in the Soviet bloc. In signing the Helsinki Final Act, the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe pledged to recognize and respect the freedom of the individual to profess and practice religion. In spite of this solemn pledge, these states have severely limited religious freedom through restrictive laws and excessive control over church affairs. Moreover, individuals who attempt to exercise religious freedom are subject to state-sponsored discrimination in employment, housing and education. In some states, for example, the

Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, they are brutally persecuted and often imprisoned.

As a member and former Co-chairman of the Helsinki Commission, I have long been concerned about the failure of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies to fulfill commitments on religious freedom undertaken in the Final Act and to respect religious rights granted under international law. Last year, I sponsored a concurrent resolution, passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives, condemning infringements of religious freedom, discrimination on religious grounds and persecution of religious believers by the Governments of the Warsaw Pact states.

I believe that we must make every effort to help the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe attain genuine freedom of religion. I am confident that the testimony which we are receiving today will contribute to this end by increasing our understanding of the way in which the Soviet and Eastern European governments shape their policies on religion.

I have no questions.

Thank you very much.

Senator PRESSLER. I have some additional written questions for this panel which staff will submit. But in the interest of time, we will move on as we have two panels yet remaining.

I would also say that I think Pastor Vins' opening statement is very compelling, and that will certainly be included in the record.

We thank you very much.

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S USE AND ABUSE OF THE CHURCH FOR FOREIGN POLICY GAINS

At this point, I will call forward our third panel, which will discuss the abuse of the church, Soviet active measures, and the control of domestic dissent. Here we will investigate how the Soviet and East European governments abuse religion in order to enhance their standing in the world. We will also see how religion and the clergy as a vehicle of Soviet active measures are manipulated as a tool for infiltrating Western peace and ecumenical movements.

One final point of interest in this panel will be a discussion of how the Soviets and the East Europeans dampen domestic dissent by controlling and limiting the exercise of religion.

Our next witness is Herbert Romerstein. Mr. Romerstein is a Special Assistant to the Associate Director for Programs of the United States Information Agency. He serves as the USIA coordinator for countering Soviet active measures.

Before joining the USIA in 1983, Mr. Romerstein served as a professional staff member for the U.S. Congress for 18 years. Six of those years were with the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

He has written extensively about espionage and terrorism and Soviet active measures. Mr. Romerstein is the coeditor of "Grenada Documents—An Overview and Selection," published in 1984 by the Departments of State and Defense.

Mr. Romerstein represents USIA on the Inter-Agency Working Group on Soviet Active Measures and has participated in the group's briefings to foreign governments and the press.

We are pleased to welcome you to the Senate again.

We will also call forward George Weigel. Mr. Weigel is the President of the Washington, DC-based James Madison Foundation.

In 1984 and 1985, he was a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, at the Smithsonian Institution, where

he prepared a major critical study of American Catholic thought on ethics, war, and peace since 1965.

From 1977 to 1984, Mr. Weigel was scholar in residence at the World Without War Council of Greater Seattle.

Mr. Weigel's articles and essays have appeared in journals and newspapers across the country.

Let me welcome you both here; and we will begin by hearing from Mr. Romerstein.

STATEMENT OF HERBERT ROMERSTEIN, COORDINATOR OF USIA PROGRAMS TO COUNTER SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES, U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The very eloquent witnesses earlier today discussed the persecution of religion in the Communist countries. What I would like to discuss is the use of religion as a cover for Soviet propaganda and for Soviet active measures, Soviet influence operations.

I have provided to the members copies of some documents I think might be of some interest here, and I would request, Mr. Chairman, if you would, that you please instruct the staff to place some of these documents at the appropriate points of my testimony, if that is permissible.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes; staff will make a judgment, minority and majority. Sometimes we summarize documents. But your statement will be placed in the record, and documents will be placed in the record at the discretion of staff and Senators. We do have some printing restrictions. However, we will certainly place those documents, or a summary or a reference to them, in the record.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Back in the 1920's and 1930's, Soviet antireligious propaganda was extremely crude. I have provided some examples of this, two pamphlets by Emilian Jaroslawski, (also Yaroslavsky), who at that time headed the League of Militant Atheists, or sometimes called the League of the Godless in the Soviet Union, which carried on very crude antireligious propaganda.

[The exhibits referred to follow:]

135

RELIGION IN THE U.S.S.R.

BY

E. YAROSLAVSKY

PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF MILITANT ATHEISTS OF THE SOVIET UNION

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

E. Jaroslawski

Die Gottlosenbewegung in der Sowjetunion

Mit einer Einleitung von A. Lukatschewski

Rede in der gemeinsamen Sitzung des Arbeiterpräsidiums des Bundes Streitbarer Gottloser in der UdSSR mit der internationalen Delegation Proletarischer Freidenker, gehalten am 6. November 1931

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The third document is actually a postcard, an antireligious postcard, distributed in the mid-1930's. You will see the triheaded god of the Jews, the Christians, and the Moslems, strangling the worker with the one hand and pouring gold into the coffers of the capitalists with the other.

[The exhibit referred to follows:]

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. They have become much more sophisticated than that in recent years.

The Soviets, I believe, realized during World War II, that the way to mobilize people in support of Soviet propaganda themes and in support of Soviet policies was to utilize religion. During World War II, we had the first example of the use of the Russian Orthodox Church and other Russian patriotic concepts and slogans to organize support for the Soviet war effort. One of the documents is a portion of a publication of the Russian Orthodox Church in support of the Soviet war effort.

[The exhibit referred to follows:]

The RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH and the War Against Fascism

Edited by
NIKOLAI, METROPOLITAN OF KIEV AND GALICIA

THE PATRIARCHATE OF MOSCOW
1943

INTRODUCTION

In October [November] 1917, a new page in the history of Russia was opened. In that month a great Revolution was brought about in this country. By the will of the Russian people, the Government of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies was set up. The home and foreign enemies of the Russian people shouted at all the crossroads that this government was very feeble and that the Soviet regime would be shortlived; and they tried to make their prophecy come true by attempting to crush the young Soviet Republic by armed force and starvation. But the people took to arms, defeated their numerous enemies, saved their republic, and consolidated it.

What was the attitude of the Russian Orthodox Church towards all these events? In this crucial period in its history it remained true to its historical traditions—it was united with the people. Throughout its history the Russian Orthodox Church has lived the life of the people and has shared its joys and sorrows. When the Russian people chose their own, democratic, Soviet form of government, the Church openly declared that it was with the people; that it sincerely recognized the Soviet regime as a regime established by God and expressing the will of the people. It called upon all its faithful children honestly to submit to the new regime in all things and to work with it for the common weal.

This unity of the Russian Orthodox Church with the people has been demonstrated with exceptional force in the present patriotic war against the German robber invaders. This will be evident from the contents of this pamphlet.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The organization that is most interesting, however, in this regard, was mentioned earlier by Mr. Hruby, the Christian Peace Conference, one of a network of international Soviet fronts, controlled by the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The CPC, with its headquarters in Prague, has most of its membership in the Communist countries. Most of its support comes from the Communist countries, but its job is to move Soviet line propaganda into the West. This propaganda has two basic themes. One is in support of Soviet foreign policy objectives, and the second is to conceal the persecution of religion in the Communist countries.

An interesting 1982 document, a speech of Patriarch Pimen of the Soviet Union, who is an active leader of the Christian Peace Conference, says that the activities of this organization or this kind of activity actually goes back to May 1952, to a conference in the Soviet Union of religious associations in defense of peace.

[The information referred to follows:]

World Conference:Religious Workers for
Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from
Nuclear Catastrophe

Moscow, May 10-14, 1982

Doc. 1.1.

TO SAVE THE SACRED GIFT OF LIFE IS A DUTY OF RELIGIOUS FORCES

- PIMEN, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia

Dear Brothers and Sisters,
Highly-esteemed participants in this gathering!

Permit me to extend a cordial welcome to you on behalf of the religious citizens of the Soviet Union, to thank you for coming to Moscow to take part in the Conference and to wish you wholeheartedly successful and fruitful work, which is to be inspired by our religious duty and motivated by our common profound concern over the incessantly swift growth of nuclear weapons in the world and over the imminent threat to life itself.

In front of the imminence of life's destruction, the quest of people of good will for unity and cooperation in order that the sacred gift of life be protected, is both understandable and justifiable.An important role in this quest is played by the believers belonging to different religions. It is natural that awareness of common danger brings together people who in the recent past used to be suspicious and distrustful of one another. Cooperation of the religious people in peacemaking began under the force of critical external circumstances, but very soon, however, a common organic basis was discovered, since among the spiritual principles guiding the believers in their life , ethical demands of peace are inherent in all religions.

Interreligious peacemaking does not have a very long history. Exactly thirty years ago, in May 1952, the first Conference of all Churches and religious associations in the USSR took place at the Trinity St. Sergius Laura, near Moscow. The Conference was dedicated to the involvement of the religious citizens of our country in the defence of peace, which shortly before that had been won at the price of incredible sacrifices during World War II, and which in those days again was brought under threat by the tragically deteriorating international political crisis, fed by the gradual development of nuclear weapons. The meeting at the Trinity-St.Sergius Laura entailed many other initiatives, so that now we can claim to have a close interreligious cooperation in peacemaking in our country. A most important landmark along this way is the second Conference of representatives of all USSR religions which was called together at the same place - the Trinity-St.Sergius Laura, in 1969. Among those participating in that Conference were also many representatives of different religions and churches from all parts of the world. Addressing an appeal to the believers of the world, the participants in the conference expressed their conviction, that religious differences could not be an obstacle to their common struggle for peace and justice, These two conferences came about as a natural result of the remarkable circumstance that in our multinational country there is neither nationalistic hostility, nor enmity because of religious differences. Peaceful and brotherly relations prevailing among the citizens of our country who confess different religions

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I would like you to see the obsequious statement that that conference made to Josef Stalin the year before Stalin's death, when he was going through this incredible wave of persecutions of Christians, Jews, and dissidents. This so-called peace group that met in the Soviet Union made this really incredible statement to Stalin.

[The information referred to follows:]

CONFERENCE
IN DEFENCE OF PEACE
OF ALL CHURCHES
AND
RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS
IN THE U.S.S.R.

HELD IN
TROITSE-SERGIYEVA MONASTERY,
ZAGORSK

on May 9-12, 1952

(DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS)

PUBLISHED BY THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

FROM THE CONFERENCE OF ALL CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATIONS IN THE U.S.S.R. TO **JOSEPH VISSARIONOVICH STALIN**

"Dear Joseph Vissarionovich!

"We, representatives of all Churches and religious associations in the Soviet Union, gathered at this Conference to discuss problems concerned with the defence of Peace, greet in your person the beloved leader of the peoples of our great Country and the wise guide of its Peace policy, the banner-bearer of Peace throughout the world!

"Our Conference has assembled at a time when, in the teeth of reason and treaties, the remilitarization of Western Germany and Japan is in full swing, when a united army is being established in Western Europe under American command, and when an arms drive is in progress on a scale unparalleled and is reflected in the employment in Korea of the criminal methods of bacteriological warfare.

"In view of this threat to Peace, nobody can stand idly by while these tragic events are being enacted, nobody must keep aloof from the battle against the preparation of a new war. Believers in our land cannot shun the common cause. So that, although they have worked for its success from the very outset, we, their representatives, at the call of Alexis, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia,

Gregory, Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod announces a Message of Greeting to Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin

have gathered together to unite and intensify our aid to the people in the battle for peace throughout the world.

"Our Conference has accomplished a great deal of work: it has acquainted itself with the achievements of the peoples, headed by the U.S.S.R., in the battle for Peace, it has assessed the part played in this battle by the various Churches, religious bodies, and ecclesiastical groups and individuals in all lands, has summed up the results of the activity of all the Churches and religious associations on the territory of the Soviet Union, has indicated the further tasks to be performed in this sphere, and has adopted an Appeal tc the Churches, Religious Associations, the Clergy and Laity of all Religions of the World, containing an appeal for the intensification of the battle for peace.

"In discussing the tasks confronting the Churches and religious associations of the Soviet Union in the battle for peace, the Conference focussed its attention on such problems as support for all public measures aimed at consolidating Peace among nations, the involvement of believers abroad in active work in defence of Peace, the inculcation upon the believers of our country of the spirit of devoted love to their native land, the instilling in them of a conscious attitude to socially useful work and to the fulfilment of civic duties, and the preaching of Peace and equality among nations.

"In its Appeal to the clergy and laity of all the religions of the world, our Conference pointed to the need for supporting the decisions of the World Peace Council wherein is indicated a simple and accessible way to avert world war, namely, that of reasonable agreements to condemn aggression, to achieve universal disarmament, and to secure the cessation of the war in Korea and the conclusion of a Peace Pact.

"It is with enormous enthusiasm and unanimity that we, representatives of various faiths, express to you, dear

Joseph Vissarionovich, our greetings, devotion and very best wishes that you may live many long years, bringing joy to the hearts of our people and of all peace-loving and progressive mankind.

"Greeting your manfulness, your labours, and your consistency in pursuing the policy of Peace, we are happy to assure you of the determination of all believers in our country to share the labours, the joys and the sorrows of the people, and to be at one with it in the attainment of its finest aspirations.

"We are also happy to seal our love for our Country with active participation in the battle to consolidate Peace, and to express to you, Joseph Vissarionovich, our firm faith in the final victory of the cause of justice."

Alexis, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia

Melkhisedek, Catholicos-Patriarch of All Georgia

George VI, Supreme Patriarch-Catholicos of All Armenians

Flavian, Old-Believer Archbishop of Moscow and All Russia

Capituiary Vicar Kazimieras Paltarokas, Bishop-Ordinary of the Panevežys Diocese and Administrator of the Vilnius Archdiocese

Bishop Peteris Strods, Deputy of the Metropolitan of Riga and Vicar-Apostolic of the Liepaja Diocese

Canon Juozas Jono Stankevičius, Administrator of the Kaunas Archdiocese and of the Kaišedorys and Vilkaviškis Dioceses in Lithuania

Canon Petras Maželis, Administrator of the Telshei Diocese in Lithuania

John, Archbishop of Moscow and All Russia (The Old-Believer Church of Ancient Orthodox Christians)

Gustavs Turs, Archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia

Jaan Kiivit, Archbishop of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church

Jacob Zhidkov, Chairman of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists

Paul Matsanov, President of the All-Union Council of the Seventh-Day Adventists

Adalbert Ghenchi, Dean of the Reformed Church of Transcarpathia

Maxim Sergeyev, President of the Executive Board of the Moscow Preobrazhenskoye Community of Old Believers of the Staropomorsk Concord

Ivan Vakonya, Senior Spiritual Leader and President of the Council of the Grebenshchikov Community of Old Believers in Riga

Feodor Kuznetsov, Spiritual Leader and President of the Supreme Council of Old Believers in Lithuania

Martin Kuigre, Superintendent of the Methodist Church in Estonia

Ivan Manayenko, President of the Executive Board of the Community of Spiritual-Christians (Molokans) of Baku

Alexei Remizov, President of the Executive Board of the Community of Spiritual-Christians (Molokans) of Tbilisi

Shakir ibn Shaikhlislam Khiyaletdinov, Mufti al Hafiz Kala Mullah, and President of the Moslem Council for the European part of the U.S.S.R. and Siberia

Babakhanov Ziyavitdin, Mujtahid Hafiz and Vice-President of the Moslem Council for Central Asia and Kazakhstan

Mohamed-Gadji Kurbanov, Mufti and Acting President of the Moslem Council for North Caucasus and Daghestan

Ali Zade Akhund Aga Djavad ogly, Sheikh ul Islam and President of the Moslem Council for Transcaucasia

Solomon Shliffer, Rabbi of the Moscow Choral Synagogue and President of the Jewish Community of Moscow

Itsko Shekhtman, Rabbi of the Kiev Synagogue

Gabzhi Darmayev Lobsan-Nima, Bandido-Hambo Lama, and President of the Central Buddhist Council of the U.S.S.R.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The Christian Peace Conference's last international meeting took place in Prague from July 2 to 9, 1985. At this meeting, again, they reiterated all of the basic Soviet propaganda themes in foreign policy. Many of the main documents were published as a book.

[The information referred to follows:]

GOD CALLS: CHOOSE LIFE! THE HOUR IS LATE

Christians in Resistance
to the Powers of Death –
On the Path to Peace and
Justice for All

DOCUMENTS
of the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly
Prague
July 2–9, 1985

Boris W. Rauschenbach

ARMAMENT AND ECONOMY

The militarization of outer space is one of the most topical problems. Advocates and opponents of a possible use of outer space for the deployment of arms voice various ideas on it. For a non-expert, it is very difficult to appraise the arguments put forward especially since next to scientifically-based concepts, there are quite unjustified ones, intended to deliberately deceive non-expert listeners. All of this calls for a careful examination of the situation which should help to answer the following questions: What are the technological possibilities of outer space weapons? What is their expected effectiveness? What will their deployment engender? And lastly the main question: Is it a step towards peace?

All these questions have to be answered today, as the USA is not only trying to convince the public that militarization of outer space would benefit humanity, but is already taking definite steps in order to create the 'material basis' for the implementation of such dangerous concepts, i.e. to develop a whole range of 'cosmic' weapons.

Whoever wishes to prevent the militarization of outer space must promote the total ban on weapons aimed at targets

RESOLUTIONS
FINAL DOCUMENTS

the arms race and deterrent policies can ever provide security, but rather make the world daily more dangerous. We backed the majority of the world's nations and peoples in calling for a freeze as the first step to phased abolition, and asked all nations to say they will never be the first to use these weapons.

We recognize the greatly increased instability, danger and expense that would result from the extension of the arms race into space. On grounds which are moral, political, and scientific, but chiefly spiritual, we are convinced that the so-called "Star War" development, combined with the new "first strike" weapons deployed on earth, cannot be justified, and make the world more and more insecure.

We called for a New International Economic Order where there will be at least basic justice for the poor, and supported the painful struggles of those who seek to free themselves from centuries of oppression and dependence, among whom are so many of our Christian sisters and brothers.

We reaffirm that God's concern is with the whole of life, recognize that we must learn to live together as neighbours in a world threatened with death and decay, and resolve anew on the basis of our biblical faith and hope and love, to pray, witness and struggle for peace, for justice, and for the integrity of Creation.

WE CALL ON YOU IN CHRIST'S NAME TO JOIN US - THE HOUR IS LATE!

In the coming UN International Year of Peace 1986, the Christian Peace Conference, with the new authority of our Assembly, will be embarking on national, regional and worldwide programmes of peace activities, peace education and confidence-building. To be real, these must be local - in every congregation and in every heart. In Christ's name, share with us now. The Hour is Late - God calls Choose Life.

THE HOUR IS LATE - CHOOSE LIFE, NOT THE NUCLEAR SUICIDE OF HUMANITY

Let none of us deceive ourselves. We have to realize that we are all faced with a serious decision: Humanity must either choose a future in peace through justice, social security and solidarity with our fellow humans or else self-destruction in a nuclear holocaust, which no continent, no people, no individual will escape, and which would extinguish life on earth for ever.

The arms race has unleashed demonic and destructive powers. The nuclear bombs stockpiled throughout the world have a combined explosive capacity which is several million times greater than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the nuclear arms race does not act as a way of guaranteeing peace, but of preparing for war. New nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons are supposed to make it possible to fight and win a nuclear war, as announced in the basic strategy documents of the US Administration.

Missiles with great target precision are supposed to ensure it is possible to "decapitate" the enemy and use first strike. To this end new kinds of missiles are being produced and deployed primarily in West Europe.

Now the arms race is to be extended to outer space in order to increase first strike capacity. The old doctrine "the first to shoot, will be the second to die" has been made invalid by the irrational speculation as to whether, after a preemptive strike, the remaining Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles could be intercepted and destroyed by a defensive shield in outer space. The experts are unanimous that a totally effective anti-missile system in outer space cannot be built. Therefore the militarization of the universe could only make sense if the majority of the land-based Soviet missiles had already been destroyed by the first strike. Ar-

ment in space will therefore not replace but rather intensify nuclear armament. The cost of such sophisticated weaponry is phenomenal and will only be met by a rapid increase in poverty and misery in both the industrialized nations and in the Third World countries. Arguments that research into space weaponry could open the door to a new technological future are deceitful. Peaceful space research is cheaper and more effective and works towards the well-being of humanity rather than its destruction.

As Christians we see the SDI concept as a frightening expression of human hubris. Anyone who strives for absolute security and invulnerability at any price destroys the interdependence of human beings which God desires. Thus our resistance to this violation of solidarity between peoples is not only politically but also spiritually motivated.

Moreover war doctrines are being developed on a global scale, which should make it possible to enforce political and economic interests primarily with military means. For this offensive concept and the "deep strike", new weapons, including chemical and neutron weapons are to be deployed mainly in Europe.

This results in accentuated militarization of political conflicts in all parts of the world. This prevents the people of the world from resolving their problems independently and cooperatively, in solidarity with one another. We can only achieve peace if we work with and not against each other. Humanity will only succeed in resolving its global problems if it uses the resources gained through disarmament to achieve the just and peaceful development of all peoples. Overcoming militaristic developments is the main prerequisite for the development of democracy, independence and the realization of self-determination.

We can avert the nuclear danger if all women and men of good will, Christians and non-Christians, join together to resist armaments on the earth and in outer space. The decision of war or peace, of confrontation or cooperation, the accele-

ration or deceleration of the arms race, must become an inviolable democratic right. Worldwide events have shown that, despite considerable opposition, the forces of peace and democracy have begun to recognize their potential for change and to strengthen their political influence.

It is one of the tasks of Christian parishes to set an example and emanate good sense, inner strength and confidence. Trusting in God's word we should inspire people to commit themselves and to overcome the difficulties, tiredness and resignation in the fight for survival and the future of humankind.

In order that God's creation is not abandoned to total destruction, but is maintained for the benefit of all people, we demand:

- no militarization of outer space
- a halt to the deployment of nuclear weapons in all parts of the world
- a reduction of strategic and medium-range weapons
- renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons
- elimination of all nuclear weapons
- an end to the arms race on earth
- an extension of disarmament in conventional weapons
- a freeze and ultimate reduction of arms expenditures
- utilization of the resources thus made available for development.
- renunciation of using military solutions for conflicts between peoples.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Some documents are not available, but we were lucky enough to obtain a set of the press releases issued at the conference. Press release number four contains an insight into the propaganda evident in the statement of an American participant at the conference who said,

I feel in Prague almost as at home.

He goes on to say that the opponents

Use against us arguments based on deceitful stereotypes on oppression of religion and nonrespecting of human rights.[1] Therefore it is important that as Christians we have the possibility to visit your countries and see for ourselves the actual situation in them. We have come to the conviction that churches in your country have been playing in the last few years an ever-increasing role, not only in the sphere of peace activity, but also with respect to many other questions of social life.

[The information referred to follows:]

[1] Please note the awkward sentence construction of a propagandist whose native language is not English.

God Calls: Choose Life!

The Hour is Late!

I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly.

John 10:10b

SIXTH ALL-CHRISTIAN PEACE ASSEMBLY

Prague, July 2 to 9, 1985

No 4

July 5, 1985

Delegation of the VIth ACPA Received by President Husák

The president of the CSSR, Gustáv Husák, received yesterday at Prague Castle a delegation of the VIth All-Christian Peace Assembly led by the president of the CPC, Bishop Dr Károly Tóth. The delegation further consisted of the metropolitan of Kiev and Galicia and exarch of the Ukraine, Dr Filaret, the general secretary of the CPC, Rev Dr Lubomír Mirejovský, the CPC's vice-presidents Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios of India, Richard Andriamanjato of Madagascar and Ms Bernadeen Silva of Sri Lanka as well as Canon Kenyon Wright of Great Britain, emeritus bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, Sergio Mendez Arceo, and Prof. Bruce Rigdon of the USA.

Bishop Tóth informed President Husák about the course and goals of the VIth All-Christian Peace Assembly. "The fact that the idea of peace has been adopted by many churches is due, among other things, to the work of the Christian Peace Conference. We would like to appeal from this Assembly not only to Christians but to all people to create a united front against the enemies of peace", said Bishop Tóth.

In his reply, President Gustáv Husák highly appraised the selfless activity of the CPC, which has brought together representatives of various churches and confessions in all parts of the world in order to defend, together with all people of good will, peace on this planet.

"The securing of a lasting peace" - Gustáv Husák went on to say - "is the most important task today, the precondition of the very existence and the further development of civilization. It concerns all people irrespective of the colour of their skin, ideological convictions or religious beliefs. We are of the opinion that through the common effort of all peace-loving forces in the world, an important part of which is your movement, it will be possible to avert the danger of nuclear war, stop the arms race and prevent the militarization of space.

"Only in peace can nations and mankind solve any pressing and complex questions. This is why also the efforts of the Czechoslovak people have for the last four decades been concentrated on the securing of peaceful conditions for social progress, peaceful coexistence and the expansion of mutually advantageous

cooperation among nations and thus on the reducing of tension in Europe and the world. Every honest effort for peace and friendship among nations, the free development of all countries, and the elimination of hunger, poverty, backwardness and injustice has our full support," President Husák pointed out.

"We are not afraid on any criticism and we wish to talk to those who disagree with us, but we are against such criticism which is aimed at disrupting our common effort" - said in the ensuing friendly discussion Metropolitan Filaret. "We are namely convinced that only in close unity with all peace-loving forces we shall be able to attain our goal - that of saving life on this planet."

Speaking in a similar spirit, Canon Kenyon Wright of Great Britain appreciated the peace engagement of the Czechoslovak government and people and stressed that the Assembly wanted to contribute to the establishment of a broad front of all peace-loving forces in support of the politicians striving for a reasonable resolving of all disputes.

"I feel in Prague almost as at home" - said Prof. Bruce Rigdon of the USA. "I was in your city for the first time 25 years ago and most recently as a participant in the great Peace Assembly in 1983. I am recalling that assembly especially because it was probably for the first time that we, representatives of churches, were enabled to participate in such a great peace event." Prof. Rigdon then discussed the situation of those who in the USA are struggling for peace and the problems they must cope with. "They hold against us that our opinions often coincide with the standpoints of the socialist governments. They use against us arguments based on deceitful stereotypes on oppression of religion and non-respecting of human rights. Therefore it is important that as Christians we have the possibility to visit your countries and see for ourselves the actual situation in them. We have come to the conviction that churches in your country have been playing in the last few years an ever-increasing role not only in the sphere of peace activity but also with respect to many other questions of social life," stated Prof. Rigdon.

Bishop Sergio Mendez of Mexico characterized the paradoxical situation of the Latin American continent which on the one hand suffers from the largest indebtedness in the world and, on the other, is the first region in the western hemisphere where a socialist society is being built in Cuba. Bishop Arceo then discussed the share of Christians in the creation of a broad front of resistance against the dictatorial regimes, especially in Central America.

Present at the reception was Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Matej Lúcan, the head of the President's Office, František Salda, and the head of the Secretariat for Church Affairs of the Government of the CSSR, Vladimír Janku.

At the conclusion of the meeting, President Gustáv Husák wished the VIth All-Christian Peace Assembly every success in its work.

x x x x

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Of course, that is the theme that the Communist regimes would like people to believe. In fact, churches in the Communist countries, or religious groups in the Communist countries, play no role in decisionmaking. They are the subject of government decisionmaking. Richard K. Ullman, one of the founders of the CPC admitted as much in his 1963 pamphlet "The Dilemmas of a Reconciler." Mr. Ullman, a non-Communist wrote, "we had better admit without further prevarication that our Eastern brethren are being used for Communist policy, and that through them we are being used in the same way."

[The information referred to follows:]

SEP 12

THE DILEMMAS OF A RECONCILER

SERVING THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT

RICHARD K. ULLMANN

PENDLE HILL PAMPHLET 131—thirty-five cents

© 1963

for, and actively engaged in, overcoming the spirit of the cold war, first and foremost within the Christian Church. Without minimizing the divisiveness of political issues, they have called for the trusting cooperation of Christians from all over the world to labor together for mutual understanding of different social conditions and ideologies and above all for a common witness to a deeply divided world, a witness of their unity in Christ.

Still, with all their faithfulness, there remain some gnawing doubts. How is it possible, we must ask ourselves, that these conferences can gather "behind the Iron Curtain" unless with the approval of communist governments? How is it possible that churchmen in Eastern Europe enjoy this freedom of meeting with us and even sending their representatives to attend conferences in non-communist countries and to join the World Council of Churches, at a time when the Government-sponsored anti-religious campaign against them is stepped up once again, as it so obviously is? If there is no duplicity in the attitude of our fellow-Christians, can we say the same for the attitude of their governments?

We may fairly assume that these governments are interested in our Christian conferences very much in the same way in which they support the exchanges of ballet companies, football teams, chess players and other forms of "cultural" contacts, namely to impress the other side with their achievements and their good intentions, and thus to further their policy of "competitive peaceful coexistence," whatever this may mean. This makes us cautious and circumspect in our criticism, because we do not wish by such criticism to harm our Eastern friends or to be deprived of further contacts with them. Whether such restraint be for the good or the bad, we had better admit without further prevarications that our Eastern brethren are being used for communist policy, and that through them we are being used in the same way. Let us admit this, well knowing that anti-communist readers may tear the last sentence from its context and quote it as evidence against us. Perhaps they will do

it with a bad conscience after having read on. The crucial question is whether we are right to resent being used and to refuse cooperation under these circumstances.

We must refuse cooperation if and when we feel sure that we are being used exclusively for wrong purposes. Yet, wanting to be bridge-builders, we must be ready at times to be the bridge over which the others are invited to walk. At all events, we should pray every day that God may use us for his own purposes in whatever situation we may find ourselves. I contend here that it is possible to be used by communist governments for the purposes of God; indeed, that they themselves are being used by God in spite of their atheism. Many will deny this. Their narrow theology assumes that because these people know nothing of a God they are not known to Him either; that those who exclude God from their account are automatically excluded from His.

They fail to recognize that God is using communist governments to open the door for our meetings with our Eastern brethren at the very moment when these fellow Christians need our friendship and spiritual support in a difficult situation inflicted on them by the same governments; at the very moment, too, when we Christians in the West are in dire need of learning, through their faithfulness, how to be Christian in a sub-Christian or post-Christian society and what positive and creative aspects our friends in Eastern Europe have discovered in communism, thanks to their every-day closeness to it. Indeed, if we are being used, we ourselves are using the facilities granted to us by their governments to deepen our knowledge and understanding of forces without which cooperation and peacemaking will be impossible. We all, communists and Christians alike, are part of the "contingencies of history" of which Reinhold Niebuhr has spoken. We are engaged in purposes which are not of our making.

Certainly the door opened to us by Eastern governments would be closed quickly if we were trying to use it for anti-

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The President of the Christian Peace Conference, Karoly Toth, in a 1981 pamphlet says, "It is important to see that the main object of the Marxist socialist parties is not to destroy religion, but to build up a more just society and better life for the people."

[The information referred to follows:]

KÁROLY TÓTH

LIVING AS A CHRISTIAN IN TODAY'S WORLD

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE
1981

Let us not forget that Christianity turned at first against the emerging bourgeoisie and then against the workers' movement.

Therefore, the prophetic service of the Christian community cannot consist in its criticizing the great human efforts. It is much more important that, owing to its ability to put itself in the place of others, it should take note of the great historical forces that are shaping the world's destiny. If we try to understand the prophetic function of the Church in this respect we must state once again that the present Christianity largely misses this prophetic influence and this prophetic ability, and that even those spiritual, social and political trends that are shaping our world are being strongly attacked and criticized by various Christian circles. Thus these Christians are not in a position to exercise any influence on these trends and to participate in forming them. This is the basic question of our time, which we Christians must answer most urgently: Is Christianity able and willing to recognize spirituality as it is understood in the biblical sense and to comprehend the living, historical truth in order to be able to join the forces that are determining and shaping history?

Mutual trust despite differences

In this context, it is important to see that the main object of the Marxist socialist parties is not to destroy religion, but to build up a more just society and better life for the people. It also means that the issue of ideology is not the main issue in socialism. Ideology can play an important part, but we must now come to the basic differences between socialist ideology and Christian theology.

Firstly, there is the anthropological difference. Human existence cannot be explained by one cause alone, it cannot be reduced to only one explanation. In other words, human life and human intellect cannot be understood when considered only from the political, sociological and economic viewpoints. The misery of the human situation and the spiritual desolation of human beings cannot be changed by mere economic alterations in the life of society. Human life is much more than just a product of the social environment. That is where the problem in the socialist societies really lies, because the improvement of the social environment and the standard of living does not necessarily mean an improvement in the moral attitudes of the people. In fact, the contrary is true, that is to say, that a bad social environment may influence man

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The truth about that was very clearly indicated by the witnesses earlier today, that, in fact, the role of the Communist regimes is the suppression of religion and that the use of a supposedly religious group, the Christian Peace Conference, to spread Soviet bloc propaganda is just part of their basic cynicism.

The Christian Peace Conference for a long time was extremely anti-Catholic. I would like to submit a 1961 document by them which is very clear in its condemnation of the Catholic Church.

[The information referred to follows:]

. . . and on Earth Peace

Documents
of the First All-Christian Peace
Assembly

PRAGUE 13th - 18th JUNE 1961

saints" (Eph. 3:17—18). According to the dogma of the Vatican, the knowledge of truth is given to the Pope independently, outside any connection with the Church. The earthly monarchical jurisdiction of Rome has thus overshadowed the doctrine of the Church, the spiritual body of Christ under one invisible head, Christ. The burden of the freedom of Christ, of his participiation in the ecumenical life of the Church, is beyond the capacity of Roman Catholicism. It has laid the burden of responsibility on the Pope alone. The Pope has replaced the whole body of the Church in the final cognition of truth and the criterion of truth is no longer the Holy Spirit, dwelling in the whole Church, but the bishop who has ascended the throne of the Roman See.

Two tendencies are noticed in the development of the papal system: the tendency to affirm the authority of the Pope over the Church and the world and the tendency to proclaim the infallibility of the Pope in matters of faith. The theory of the Pope is the clearest and most concentrated expression of the spirit of external legalism and worldliness which has considerably penetrated into the teaching and life of the Catholic Church. This is the tragedy of the Roman Catholic Church which the leaders of Papal Rome close their eyes to. Yet the striving for temporal power has thrown and still throws the Roman Catholic Church into the vortex of the world political struggle. This striving has forced and still forces the Pope of Rome to be the motive force of various aggressive political associations and to act, as Prof. Hromádka said, to the prejudice of Christianity, "to strike at the very roots of Christian faith and to cripple the great mission of the Church in our days".

That this is the case is proved by the many facts of political aggression perpetrated by the Vatican, which confirm that men in authority in the Roman Church, such as Cardinal Spellman, engage more in politics than in the education of their flock in Christian morals.

Hypnotized by the prospect of the absolute power of the Papacy, the Roman See has by its wordly interests and connections become rooted in an old mode of life, has irrevocably tied itself up with imperialist designs and is still deaf and often hostile to the moral and social demands of the masses that are fighting for the ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood.

Last year's Eucharistic Congress in Munich with its speeches full of hate, the participation of Catholic personalities in the Congo events on the side of the aggressive forces of imperialism, the anti-communist conference of Catholic bishops in connection with the failure of the imperialist intervention in Cuba, Cardinal Mindszenti's reliance on the "inevitability" of a new world war, the speech on the wireless by Car-

dinal Jaime Barros Camaro, Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, against the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, all these are links in the same chain, political facts in glaring contradictions to the virtues of charity and peace which are a direct obligation for servants of Christ's Church.

It is not just by accident that the abyss between the Vatican and progressive mankind is getting wider every day. It seems to us that a conflict between the masses of Catholic believers on the one hand and the leaders of the Vatican on the other is inevitable. This conflict has already started by the liquidation of unions such as that of Brest, so important for the Vatican as a bridgehead for penetration into the East.

The Vatican is trying to get out of the position which has arisen thus. The convening of the Second Vatican Council is one of the steps taken for this purpose. Over seven hundred churchmen representing countries all over the world are now engaged in various commissions and secretariats set up by Pope John XXIII to prepare for this council. Negotiations are going on with representatives of other churches. However, it is not difficult to understand that the aim of the council is not to unite Christians but to split them according to the Vatican's unchanging policy.

It is time for the Vatican to understand that it has ceased to be the spiritual teacher of modern mankind. "Social upheavals", as Prof. Hromádka rightly notes, "from 1917 onwards have transferred the centre of gravity of forces aiming at responsible, creative reconstruction of society . . . to the circles of the working people and of nations which only recently were under the rule of colonialist powers". Alongside of capitalist society there has been created a new, socialist society totalling more than a thousand million people. This is a real fact not to be ignored. Christians must understand modern man with all his constructive desires for a new social structure and they must not plan against him new "crusades", which can bring no good to the Christian Churches.

The Church must not turn away from the modern needs of man. On the contrary, it must put at their service the experience of its life and its virtues. This service by the Church consists in Christians uniting in their lives devotion to God with the manifestations of human capacities. Their activity in earthly spheres is manifold, but the Christian principle of their application is one alone — implacable struggle against evil in all its forms.

This is the virtue of the Church, which is profitable to all (1. Tim. 4:8) and especially where the victim is man, the family, society, a nation, the whole human race.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. But, by 1974, they had changed their minds and began reaching out toward Catholics to use them as a facade for Soviet propaganda. A document by one of the CPC leaders, Ingo Roer, called Christian Peace Conference—A Place of Ecumenical Peace Work, actually stretches out a hand to the Catholics—but, again, to use them as a facade and not to make them real participants in a dialog where policies can be changed.

He admits in this pamphlet that there are people who criticize the Christian Peace Conference as merely an instrument of Communist propaganda, carrying out subversion under a Christian cloak in the service of socialist governments. That, indeed, is what the Christian Peace Conference is.

[The information referred to follows:]

INGO ROER

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

A Place of Ecumenical Peace Work

DEVELOPMENT • STRUCTURE • ORGANS
TASKS • ACTIVITY • DATA

Published
by the Information Department of the Christian Peace Conference,
Prague, Czechoslovakia
1974

CPC was oriented toward the traditional congregations and Churches. The issue was to overcome the prevailing ignorance, indifference, self-satisfaction and passivity among other circles of Christendom. "Lethargy" was a much used word at that time. It was necessary to provide the motives for breaking out of a ghetto which was partly the result of the social ideologies in the West and the East, but which was not seldom also seemingly well-substantiated theologically by Christians themselves.[31]

The issue was that Christians, with an awakened conscience and jointly clarified understanding, should contribute their creative, liberating and encouraging word where things had arrived at an impasse and where the international political scene was characterized by apodictic divisions and false alternatives, and should help to create an atmosphere of frankness. In this way, Christians could help to prepare a background against which the possibilities for the solution of urgent problems could really be felt.

Thus the beginnings of the CPC movement were characterized by two concerns: a concern for mankind and the world, and for Christendom and the Church.

All political standpoints were simultaneously intended as a deliberated, trustworthy witness of the Gospel. However, the actually meaningful, unostentatious get-togethers, discussions and joint activity of those coming from the East and the West mostly resulted in emphatic proclamations and exaggerated appeals. Yet the main weapon and effectiveness of the CPC consisted less in such written proclamations than in the joint peace work preceding them, that is, in meetings whose participants listened, spoke and learned to know one another and in the continuation by individuals of this communion, the possibility of which was confirmed by their experience.

Criticism against the CPC

The more the CPC grew an the more its voice was heard, the stronger was the criticism aimed against it by church circles in the West. Most of this criticism was chanelled into the following three arguments:[32]

1. The CPC was merely an instrument of Communist propaganda, carrying out subversion under a Christian cloak in the service of socialist governements.

In fact, one of the main goals of the movement was to eliminate ideological and partly militant anti-Communism as an obstacle to peace and to publicize peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The accusation that it was a speaking-trumpet of Communist governments was then used in order to deny the Christians in the CPC their Christian character and to declare that their work was not theologically legitimate and that it actually was not at all being carried out along the lines of Christian consciousness and faith.[33]

2. The second accusation was formulated like this: The actual goal of the CPC was to establish an Eastern counter-oikoumene, thus splitting the ecumenical movement.[34]

   In fact, the voice of anti-Communism could be heard in the discussions of the Ecumenical Council of Churches (Geneva) at least until its second assembly in Evanston and a considerable part of the oikoumene, including the Orthodox and part of the Protestant Churches in the socialist countries, were therefore not represented in the World Council of Churches until then. Nevertheless, these Churches joined their forces in the CPC with representatives of other Churches in the interest of common work for peace. The CPC has considered itself from the beginning as a complement of the existing oikoumene, stressing its loyalty toward the ECC with regard to all its declarations serving the cause of peace.

3. The following idea was spread by West German Protestant circles in particular. Owing to the existence of the Commission of Churches for International Affairs of the Ecumenical Council and the Conference of European Churches which was founded in 1959, the Christian Peace Conference is superfluous. One deliberately overlooked the different structure of the movement of the CPC, its exclusive concentration on the theme of peace, its different composition and above all its different path of peace activity, namely its efforts to assert the principles of faith not only in verbal, but also practical witness to mutuality, without being exclusively concerned with Churches and their dogmatic differences.

   This criticism did not make the work of the CPC in those days any easier. But at the same time it helped to strengthen the conviction concerning the need for its service.

is now really interested in the experience of Christians living not only in an atheistic milieu but partly even of those living in a socialist milieu. This is an exceptionally important result both for the implementation of the ecumenical movement and for peace throughout the world, since mutual understanding among Christendom has a certain reciprocal effect on the state of coexistence between the countries of the world. In the same way in which the relations between Western and Eastern Christendom change, the relations of Western Christendom toward the so-called young Churches in the Third World will have to change as well. In this respect, these experiences have an exemplary significance.

Both organizations send observes to one another's important meetings (general assemblies and sessions of their central committees, working committees and commissions).

Similarly to its relationship to the ECC, the relationship of the CPC to the confessional world unions and regional church assotiations such as the Conference of European Churches, the All Africa Conference of Churches and the East Asia Christian Conference (today the Christian Conference of Asia) have developed as well. Concerning the question of European security, the Christian Peace Conference collaborates closely with the Conference of European Churches and, on questions related to decolonization and support for the liberation movements, with the All Africa Conference of Churches.

b) Cooperation with Catholics

The CPC began its work in the year in which a whole epoch of Catholicism came to an end with the death of Pope Pius XII. It was not primarily dogmatic differences which stood in the way of Catholics' cooperation with the CPC, but "that feeling and conviction that the Roman Catholic Church constituted the strongest barrier against revolutionary trends throughout the world, particularly to the construction of a society based on a socialist programme. There was a danger that the Catholic resistance to the modern world would become narrowed and changed in a resistance to socialist efforts and the new socialist states. These attitudes within Roman Catholicism were of great help to those restorative and reactionary groups which, after the Second World War, oriented their activity against Eastern Europe, People's China and revolutionary trends in other parts of the world."[28]

The CPC considered it all the more important that cooperation be realized between the Catholic Church, or at least some of its members, and the CPC in its efforts for a peace dialogue in the

world, peaceful cohabitation among nations, a systematic struggle against the danger of war and for the use of the tremendous means of modern society for the satiation of the underfed and underdeveloped nations.

But the anti-Communism of the Catholic Church, which was stressed over and over again throughout the period of the pontificate of Pius XII, left hardly any real hope for a dialogue over questions of peace with other Churches and Christians in the socialist countries.

At the third Christian Peace Conference in 1960 and at the first All-Christian Peace Assembly in 1961, Prof. J. L. Hromádka and representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church considered it necessary to reject the latest anti-Communist statements made by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church and to declare them a misuse of Christian faith.

With the pontificate of John XXIII, gradual changes in the attitude of the Catholic Church not only toward Protestants and the Orthodox Church but also toward Communists became apparent. The "Pacem in terris" encyclical came as a clear sing of that change and was welcomed by the CPC. Equally, the CPC followed the corresponding statements of the 2nd Vatican Council. From that time on, individual Catholics began to work in the Regional Committees and attended—though only as observers—the meetings of the Christian Peace Conference.

Even though cooperation with Catholics, not only in Poland but also in various Latin American countries, as well as in Belgium, Holland and France was steadily increasing, the Roman Catholic Church maintained a reserved stand vis-à-vis this ecumenical peace activity. It preferred to pursue this task through its own Pax Christi movement, with which the CPC came into contact on various occasions, or through the SODEPAX which maintained contacts with the Ecumenical Council of Churches.

The CPC cultivates cooperation with the "Berlin Conference of Catholic Christians in the European Countries". The purpose of deepening such cooperation with other groups (Pax Christi) as well was served by a consultation which the CPC held at the beginning of February 1971 in Prague with Catholic theologians and laics.[27]

On the whole it can be said that in spite of the efforts of the previous, acting General Secretary of the CPC, Catholic Janusz Makowski, cooperation between the Christian Peace Conference and the Catholics still remains a task that has to be solved.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. One of the documents that I would call to your attention is a communique issued in Prague in October, 1983, of a meeting of the international Soviet fronts which was called at the request of the Christian Peace Conference. When we look through the list of organizations in attendance, it is all those organizations that we know are controlled by the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, plus one additional. It says "World Marxist Review." World Marxist Review is the international theoretical organ controlled by the Soviet Union to keep the Communist parties of the world in line. In some editions it is called Problems of Peace and Socialism. The English language version is called World Marxist Review.

[The information referred to follows:]

COMMUNIQUE

The representatives of 14 international non-governmental organizations participated in a consultative meeting convened by the Christian Peace Conference in Prague, October 8th and 9th, 1983.

All the participants emphasized uranimously the urgency of intensifying their actions for the mobilization of the peace forces and the world public opinion for the prevention of nuclear war. The danger of a nuclear holocaust has become greater than ever before due to the beginning of the process of deployment of new first strike Pershing and Cruise U.S. missiles by NATO in Western Europe.

This danger is hightened by the policy of aggression and intervention of the Reagan administration in different regions of the world. Now, the involvement of U.S. military forces in the Middle East, Central America, Indian Ocean and Far East is increasing. With its allies of Israel, South Africa and in the NATO countries and with dictatorial reactionary regimes, the U.S. administration threatens the independence, sovereignty and integrity of states and the liberation movement in all continents.

All the participants felt the great impact of the World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War held in Prague in June 1983 in the continuation and extension of the dialogue and cooperation among the broadest range of anti-war movements.

They discussed the ways and means of strengthening the support of their organizations to the U.N. and in particular to the World Disarmament Campaign and to increase cooperation among NGO's.

The participating organizations finally exchanged information about their programmes of action for the coming period and several common initiatives have been agreed upon.

A particular emphasis was laid upon immediate campaigns against the deployment of U.S. missiles in Western Europe which should reach new heights during the U.N. Disarmament Week in October.

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation
Berlin Conference of European Catholics
Christian Peace Conference
International Institute for Peace
International Organization of Journalists
International Union of Students
Organisación de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y America Latina
Women's International Democratic Federation
World Federation of Scientific Workers
World Federation of Teachers' Union (FISE)
World Federation of Trade Unions
World Federation of Democratic Youth
World Marxist Review
World Peace Council

x x x x x x x

STATEMENT

Never was the danger of nuclear annihilation as great as it is today. In defiance of the clearly expressed will of the peoples of Europe the process of the deployment of new American missiles has already begun in Western Europe which is a menace to the whole world.

The U.S. administration keeps refusing to consider the Soviet propositions at the Geneva Talks.

The U.S. determination to deploy nuclear arms of first strike capacity is changing the whole negotiation base. It is also contrary to the resolutions of the UNO through which the overwhelming majority of governments have expressed their support for concrete measures for nuclear disarmament. It cannot be understood as a part of some security system not a mere element of East-West conflict - it constitutes a trigger for nuclear holocaust.

Never before were such learge masses of people in Europe, America and all the continents aware of the danger and dedicated to resist.

The urgent task of the coming weeks, therefore, is to concentrate and strengthen peace activities to halt the deployment of new nuclear missiles in close cooperation with all peoples, in all continents, irrespective of their political, ideological and religious views.

We urge all peace-loving people to stay firm and united in the fight against Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe.

This struggle is the key to the survival of humankind. It can and must be won !

Prague, October 9, 1983

Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization
Berlin Conference of European Catholics
Christian Peace Conference

International Institute for Peace
International Organisation of Journalists
International Union of Students
Organisación de Solidaridad de los Pueblos de Africa, Asia y America Latina
Women's International Democratic Federation
World Federation of Teachers' Union (FISE)
World Federation of Trade Unions
World Federation of Democratic Youth
World Peace Council

x x x x x

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The documents of the Christian Peace Conference make it very clear—and, again, here is a 1977 document (indicating) written by an East German entitled "Liberation and Detente," which makes it very clear that their support of peace really supports those policies of the Soviet Government and of the East European governments which provide aid to violent groups around the world who intend to take power in their own countries.

The Christian Peace Conference had a meeting in Latin America in November 1984, which was coincidental with the American liberation of Grenada. In the official report of the Secretary General of the Christian Peace Conference made in 1984, he says,

These meetings happened at the time of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The participants, including those from the United States of America, expressed their deep solidarity with the people of Grenada and denounced the U.S. administration's policies in the Caribbean and Central American region.

[The information referred to follows:]

CPC WORKING COMMITTEE
Herrnhut, GDR, April 9-13,1984

THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

Dear Brothers, Sisters and Friends,

We all are well aware of the seriousness of the present global situation and of the constantly growing threats to peace. The preservation of peace, the lessening of tensions and the normalization of international relations are the most important issues of contemporary history. At this Working Committee meeting our common task is to discuss how to strengthen the Christian contribution to the general struggle for peace and justice and what the priorities of our present and future activity should be.

I hope that my brief review of our past work can be used as a contribution to our general deliberations.

1. Our movement has only modest means, but it was possible to organize a number of important actions, each one being of a different type and responding to issues of their kind.

In November 1983 the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Latin American and Caribbean CPC and the Second Encounter of Theologians and Social Scientists from more than 20 countries in LAC, the USA and Europe, took place in Matanzas, Cuba. These meetings happened at the time of the US invasion of Grenada. The participants, including those from the USA, expressed their deep solidarity with the people of Grenada and denounced the US Administration's policies in the Caribbean and Central American region. In the main presentation at the Encounter, the traditional approaches of Liberation Theology were supplemented with ideas resulting from a growing consciousness of the cultural and political identity of Latin American countries. Peaceful and political solutions to Latin American problems were advocated on the principle of close cooperation between the countries of the continent, similar to the ones demonstrated by the position of the Contadora group.

The participants stressed the need for resistance to the ideology of anticommunism, support to the principles of the non-aligned movement, a genuine contribution to the struggle of their people

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Of course, the people of Grenada were quite happy to be liberated from the regime because at that time the Communists were killing one another and the people of Grenada were quite concerned that they would be the next victims, and, indeed, our own students who were in Grenada had that same concern.

The Christian Peace Conference makes sure that it hits every Soviet propaganda theme. Every time an issue comes up in the world that is of some importance, the Christian Peace Conference is in on it. They could not find it in their hearts to condemn the Soviet shootdown of the KAL, although they discussed it at one of their meetings right after the shootdown.

[The information referred to follows:]

cfk information cpc

Information Department of the Christian Peace Conference
Informationsabteilung der Christlichen Friedenskonferenz
Prague 1, Jungmannova 9, Czechoslovakia - phone 24 88 66, 24 85 36

Disarmament - Promoting Both Peace and Justice
The Working Committee of the CPC Met in Moscow (Communiqué)

Statement of the Working Committee on the Present Situation in the World

Resolution of the Working Committee on the Geneva Talks

Letters to President Yuri Andropov and President Ronald Reagan

* *

Disarmament - Promoting Both Peace and Justice

The Working Committee of the CPC Met in Moscow (Communiqué)

At the invitation of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Working Committee of the Christian Peace Conference (CPC) met in Moscow from October 17 to 21, 1983.

More than 40 members of this executive body of the CPC from 18 countries, along with several honourable guests, dealt with the tasks of the Christian peace movement in the contemporary ecumenical and international situation against the background of the main theme, "Disarmament - Promoting Both Peace and Justice".

The meeting was opened with a worship service led by Bishop Sergei of Solnechnogorsk, Deputy General Secretary of the CPC. Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Byelorussia, Chairman of the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, greeted those present and presented the message of His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the CPC.

In his address, the President of the CPC characterized the contemporary international situation as "the new phase of the cold war" which has a qualitatively new dimension, compared with that of thirty years ago, and focuses on the nuclear arms race.

He analysed the different aspects of this new wave of the cold war and its impact on the development of the Third World, especially the attempts to stop the processes of emancipation and liberation in some of those countries. At present, said Bishop Tóth, we are witnessing that the policy of cold war does not produce

expected results. A number of West European countries do not obediently toe the line of U.S.foreign policy, and the new cold war has failed to achieve results inside socialist countries; rather, it has brought to life mass peace movements on an unprecedented scale. "Speaking of the Churches' peace activities, nobody can deny that the Churches have become aware of their responsibility for world peace. This was clearly demonstrated at the Sixth Assembly of the WCC in Vancouver. .. By adopting the statement on Peace and Justice, the ecumenical movement has given enormous moral support to those churches and Christian groups, as well as individual Christians all over the world, who participate in efforts for peace, disarmament and justice in various parts of the world." There is an emerging consensus in all Churches that opposing nuclear war is now the highest Christian moral duty.

In the discussion following the CPC President's address, it was stressed that the main task of the CPC, together with other Churches and ecumenical bodies, is to provide international channels for reconciliation and mutual understanding. They should be places of dialogue and effectively help to re-establish trust among nations. This is especially so in light of the detailed and frank discussion that took place regarding the sad loss of life in the South Korean airline tragedy, when strategic Soviet territory was deeply penetrated. The incident was seen as a sign of the alarming deterioration that has taken place in international relations and further, as a warning to peace forces to accept renewed responsibility for working towards a renewal of trust, understanding and cooperation among the nations of the world.

The main theme of the meeting was elaborated in three reports. Rev. Hans Joachim Oeffler, FRG, pointed to the so-called U.S. global strategy as the main cause of the arms race. Its aim today is the planned deployment of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe that have the capacity to reach the territory of the USSR and its allies in a few minutes. At the same time, "the decision for peace and a cease-fire on the one hand, and for a holocaust on the other, will no longer be made by people, politicians, governments, parliaments, general and special military units. The decision will be made by a computer, which activates the counter-strike missiles on the automated basis of 'launch of warning'. Specialists calculate the probability of a mistake in the computer system at 10 percent. However, a computer is not a human partner. It reacts neither to political protests nor to moral appeals. Its program does not include a call to repentance or conversion. Its radius of death does not know anything about the Christian message and its corresponding commandments."

Professor P.T. Podlesnyi of the Institute for U.S. and Canada Studies of the Academy of Science of the USSR, said that the situation in Western Europe after the deployment of the new U.S. missiles will be qualitatively different and that the solution of international problems will be more complex and difficult. It will complicate not only the negotiations in Geneva, but the Vienna Talks and the scheduled Stockholm Conference in 1984 as well. He

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. But they spend a lot of time attacking the Strategic Defense Initiative, and the American support for the defense of Western Europe.

[The following material was supplied for the record:]

INTERNATIONAL ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

of Religious Workers and Experts on Preventing the Use of Outer Space for Military Purposes: "SPACE WITHOUT WEAPONS"

Moscow, April 2-4, 1984

CONTENTS

Communique . . . 1
Opening Address by Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Byelorussia . . . 4
Introductory Speech by the Round Table Conference Moderator, Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios of Delhi . . . 7
Report of the Round Table Conference . . . 10
Speech of His Holiness Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia at the Reception in Honour of the Participants in the Round Table Conference . . . 14
For Peaceful Space. Diary of the Round Table Conference **by I. Prokofieva** . . . 16

Published by the Moscow Patriarchate
Moscow 1984

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The Christian Peace Conference has been very active in the World Council of Churches. At the 1983 meeting of the World Council of Churches, where the Christian Peace Conference submitted a pamphlet printed for that occasion, they also brought with them 43 supposed church women from Eastern Europe and a group of clergy from other parts of Eastern Europe.

[The information referred to follows:]

CHRISTIANS FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

Contribution of the Christian Peace Conference
to the VIth Assembly of the World Council
of Churches in Vancouver

JESUS CHRIST —
THE LIFE OF THE WORLD

English, espanol, francaise, deutsch

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. When a resolution came up at the World Council of Churches to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the decision was turned around by the activity of these 40 church women and the Christian Peace Conference people as they circulated among the delegates and said to them that if a resolution condemning the Soviet Union was passed, we will not be able to come to future meetings. As a result, that resolution was killed and another resolution was passed condemning those who supported the Freedom Fighters in Afghanistan.

[The information referred to follows:]

Czech Ecumenical News

cen

tön

Tschechische ökumenische Nachrichten

Published by:
Ecumenical Council of Churches
in the Czech Socialist Republic

Herausgeber:
Ökumenischer Rat der Kirchen
in der Tschechischen Sozialistischen Republik

Praha 1, Jungmannova 9, CSSR Phone: 24 88 66 Cable: EKUMRADA PRAHA

Contents:

Ecumenical Week of Prayer 1983

Czechoslovak Churches Prepare for World Assembly for Peace and Life

Ecumenical Visit to the Soviet Union

Conference of Christian Women

Life of Our Churches

= = = =

of the Evangelical Christian Baptists, questions connected with the preparations for the VIth General Assembly of the WCC in Vancouver and the VIth All-Christian Peace Assembly were discussed. Emphasis was placed on the need for the close cooperation among the Christian churches in the USSR and the CSSR, especially as concerns their common testimony to the Christian mission under the new social conditions.

Before their departure home, the members of the delegation were received by the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, Pimen, who greeted them cordially and wished them every success in their work.

X X X

A Conference of Christian women in the socialist countries of Europe was held in Kiev on April 20-25, 1983 under the sponsorship of the Russian Orthodox Church. 43 representatives of churches in eight European socialist countries were present and discussed three interconnected issues: "Life in Christ and the Present Threat to the Life of Humanity", "Life in Christ - Our Responsibility in the Church, Family and Society", "Life in Christ - Are We Ready for the 6th General Assembly of the WCC in Vancouver?"

The meeting served as preparation for the WCC's General Assembly and a number of women delegates for Vancouver were present.

The conference discussed urgent tasks of women in their respective churches and social environments, especially in view of the present dangerous world situation.

Participation in the liturgical life of the Orthodox Church in Kiev and the fact that 18 women were members of Orthodox churches opened the possibility to gain and insight into Orthodox devotion and attitude to the Church, into the feelings of Orthodox women and their understanding of their situation in the Church and even into the differences existing between Orthodox and Protestant theological positions as manifested in some issues discussed.

X X X

LIFE OF OUR CHURCHES

EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CZECH BRETHREN (CČE)

Martin Luther anniversary: The first large all-church assembly marking this year's 500th anniversary of the birth of the great reformer Martin Luther was held on March 27 in Prague. The opening ceremonial service took place at the Salvator Church. Bishop Dr W. Krusche of Magdeburg, who represented the Federation of Evangelical Church in the DDR, delivered the sermon and the worship was supplemented by Luther's songs performed by Prague's Canticum Sanctum art ensemble.

After the liturgical part, Prof. Amedeo Molnár of the Comenius Faculty discussed "Luther's Struggle for the Certitude of Faith".

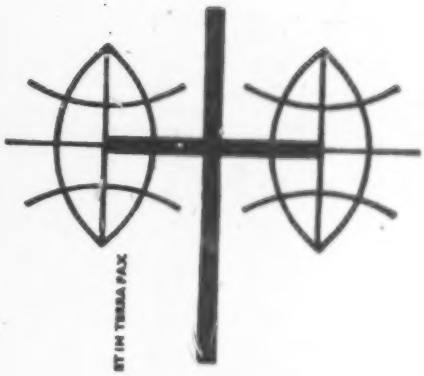
Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I see that my time is up, Mr. Chairman.
[The supporting documents of Mr. Romerstein follow:]

THE CHRISTIAN INVOLVEMENT IN PROMOTION OF LIBERATION, PEACE AND JUSTICE

CONSULTATION OF THE AFRICAN CHRISTIAN
PEACE CONFERENCE
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
MAY 21–28, 1984

SET ASIA FREE FOR PEACE WITH JUSTICE AND DIGNITY FOR ALL

SECOND ASSEMBLY OF THE ASIAN CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE
AMAGI SANSO, JAPAN
OCTOBER 15-19, 1984



CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

76 II/1983

CONTENTS

The Moral Implications of the Nuclear Freeze Proposal Bishop Károly Tóth 1

Every Missile is Pointed at Jesus Rabbi Morrison 6

Traditional and Current Peace Movement — Contribution of Christians and Churches to the Prevention of a Nuclear Catastrophe Bishop Attila Kerekes 9

The Non-Aligned Movement — Its Current Course Csilla Rácz 17

The Principle of Equal Security and Disarmament Roland Popp 25

Document 34

Statement of the CPC for the International Meeting of the WCC

The Christian Peace Conference is published by the International Secretariat of the Christian Peace Conference, Prague, Czechoslovakia

Editorial Board: Hans Ammer (Chief Editor), M. V. Chandran, Pierre Fruchon, Ivan Gabaj, Jan Hromádka, Ivan Kostka, Jaroslav Nedoma, Ondrej Pecha, Jan Rajchl, Vladislav Sedlák, Jaroslav Vajda

Publisher of the Editorial Board, Olympia Stavu, Prague

Editorial Offices: Jungmannova 9, Prague 1, Czechoslovakia

The Moral Implications of the Nuclear Freeze Proposal

BISHOP KÁROLY TÓTH

I. When dealing with a subject of this dimension, we ought to realize the essential interrelation of the freeze proposal should also be clear-aspects. We must see them in their inseparable unity. We must avoid two extremes: compartimentalization and generalization. And the function of the freeze proposal should also be clearly seen: we should not confuse the ultimate goal — complete disarmament — with the immediate practical step — the nuclear freeze proposal. This also means that while maintaining our emphasis on ethical issues, references should be made to the international, political, military and economic aspects, although it has become obvious that the nuclear issue is above all a moral issue, as the ongoing theological debate in different Christian churches clearly demonstrates. It may sound like a simplification and yet it is true: "Guns don't kill, people do"; that is why the freeze proposal and any other disarmament proposal is basically a moral issue.

Therefore the subject cannot be dealt with in the traditional Christian "scholastic" style, nor should it be treated in the manner of theologically motivated casuistic ethics. Some moral decisions, rooted in religious conviction, like that of "conscientious objectors" or of non-violent solutions (pacifism) might be ethically correct, but in today's extremely complicated international relations they do not present any viable options. Christian ethic today signifies — as is stated in the draft pastoral letter of the American Roman Catholic bishops — that the nuclear danger and the dynamics of the nuclear arms race present qualitatively new problems for our traditional moral principles.

cfk **information** **cpc**

Information Department of the Christian Peace Conference
Informationsabteilung der Christlichen Friedenskonferenz
Prague 1, Jungmannova 9, Czechoslovakia-phone 24 33 38, 24 33 39

High State Award for Bishop Dr Károly Tóth
Message of VIth All-Christian Peace Assembly to Leading Representatives of USA and USSR
Andrei Gromyko's Reply to Message of VIth ACPA
Central Committee of World Council of Churches Meets in Buenos Aires
South African Protest Meeting in Manchester
CPC's Representative Philip Oke Addresses Session of UN Special Committee on Puerto Rico
CPC Delegation Takes Part in World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow
12th Conference on the Law of the World Meets in West Berlin

x x x

We announce to all co-workers and friends of the Christian Peace Conference the sad news that recently the Lord of Life and Death summoned to him Sister Elvi Saari of Finland, a member of the Working Committee of the CPC, and the archbishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, Dr Yanis Matulis, a longstanding member of the CPC's Continuation Committee.

With the departure of Sister Saari and Brother Matulis, our movement has lost two devoted co-workers who with their life's witness had been contributing, both in their respective countries and churches and in the sphere of international ecumenical life, to the fulfilment of the apostle's words that all should be of one mind and live in peace so that the God of love and peace should be with them /II Cor. 13, 11/.

x

No 359 - September 2, 1985

МОСКОВСКИЙ ПАТРИАРХАТ
ОТДЕЛ ВНЕШНИХ
ЦЕРКОВНЫХ СНОШЕНИЙ
121002. МОСКВА Г-2. УЛ. РЫЛЕЕВА. 18/2

ИНФОРМАЦИОННЫЙ
БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ

INFORMATION
BULLETIN

MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE
EXTERNAL CHURCH
RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
18/2. RYLEYEV STR. MOSCOW G-2. 121002. USSR

No.8

May 28,1982

WORLD CONFERENCE:
RELIGIOUS WORKERS FOR SAVING THE SACRED GIFT OF LIFE FROM NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE

Moscow, May 10-14, 1982

Final documents of the Conference:
An Appeal to the Leaders and Followers of all Religions I
An Appeal to all Governments of the World 6
An Appeal to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament-1982 8
Communique 10

Homily of His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, delivered at the Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany on May 9,1982 13

Messages of greetings to the World Conference:
Message of greetings from the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers N.A.Tikhonov 16
Reply to the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers 16
Message from the Secretary General of the UN Mr.J.Perez de Cuellar 17

Greetings from religious and political leaders
From the greeting of His Beatitude Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria Nicholas VI 18
Greeting of Mufti Ziyautdin Khan ibn Ishan Babakhan 18
Greetings of His Holiness Vazgen I, Patriarch-Catholicos of all Armenians 20
Message of the Dalai Lama 22
Message from Dr.Robern Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury 23
Bishop Dr.Tibor Bartha, greetings from the CPC 23
Address by Mr.Carl H.Mau,Jr., General Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation 24
Greetings from Archbishop Walter Makulu, President of the All Africa Conference of Churches 27
Address of the Vietnamese Catholic delegation 27
Message of Dr.Gerald Goetting, Chairman of the CDU of Germany,GDR 29
Message of Mr.S.Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus 31
Greetings of Mr.Mauno Koivisto, President of the Republic of Finland 31
Message from Mrs.Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India 31
Message from Mr.G.Batmunkhe, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic 32

Speech by His Holiness Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, at the reception in honour of the participants in the World Conference, on May 14,1982 33

Тип. № 5. Зак. 7015. Тир. 30 000

Czechoslovak Ecumenical News

cen tön

Tschechoslowakische ökumenische Nachrichten

Published by:
Ecumenical Council of Churches
in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

Herausgeber:
Ökumenischer Rat der Kirchen
in der Tschechoslowakischen Sozialistischen Republik

18600 Praha 8, Vitkova 13, CSSR

Phone: 22 75 81

Cable: EKUMRADA PRAHA

Index 46 501

CONTENTS

News on Ecumenical Life
Commemorative Assembly
State Awards to Church Representatives
Orthodox Church
Church of Brethren
Moravian Church
Silesian Evangelical Church A.C.
Old Catholic Church
Slovak Evangelical Church A.C.
Czechoslovak Hussite Church
Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren
Notifications and Errata

- -

News on Ecumenical Life

On February 4-8, 1985, the regular ecumenical youth seminar was held at the Work Centre of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church in Brno, which was devoted this time to preparations for the 6th ALL-CHRISTIAN PEACE ASSEMBLY to be held at the beginning of July 2-9, 1985 in Prague.

x

A group of twenty students of the academic secondary school in Wolfsburg /FRG/ came, together with Prof. Veronika Geyer-Iwand, for visit to Czechoslovakia from March 19 to 22. In the course of their sojourn here, the guests met at the Ecumenical Centre in Prague-Karlin with representatives of the ECC in the CSSR for an exchange of information and experiences concerning the work of the churches in both countries.

x

H UNGARIAN
C HURCH
P RESS

ISSN 0438-1920

Budapest, XIV. [illegible] 21
Cables: Reformedch[illegible] Budapest

Publisher: Bishop D. Dr. [illegible] Veté
Editor-in-Chief: Bishop A[illegible] Kovách

Edited by Interchurch Editorial Board.
Published by the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Hungary

UNGARISCHER KIRCHLICHER PRESSEDIENST

Volumen XXXV/No. 12
Budapest, June 15th, 1983

Contents

Bishop Bartha on the 25 years old Christian Peace Conference 2
Lutheran-Orthodox dialogue 2
Westphalian Lutheran delegation visits Hungary 3
"Centuries of the Hungarian Bible" - a new book of the Reformed Press Department 3
Donations solicited for the Luther statue 4
The ethnographic study group of the Lutheran Church meets .. 4
Hungarian reformed guest pastor ministering in the U.S.A. .. 4
University chaplains confer 5
On the training of church precentors in the Lutheran Church 5

For Information

Disarmament consultation of the CPC in Budapest 6
The Orthodox Church in Bulgaria observes the anniversary of the restitution of its patriarchate 12

Index: 25 823
Mimeographed by the Press Service of the Reformed Church in Hungary
H. C. P. may be freely reproduced in any form with acknowledgment
25 000. FY. 83-323

Conferencia Cristiana por la Paz

LA RESPONSABILIDAD CRISTIANA Y LOS CAMBIOS DE ESTRUCTURAS SOCIALES

año III no 17 may jun

BUDDHISTS FOR PEACE

Journal of the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace

B. E. 2527 NUMBER [illegible] (Vol. 6) 1984 AD

CONTENTS

Lofty Duty of [illegible] 2
ABCP LIFE
News from Headqu[illegible]
ABCP Delega[illegible] Japan
Intervention [illegible] Lama Ch. G[illegible] All-Japan Religious
Confe[illegible] in Tok[illegible] 4
Condole[illegible] the Dem[illegible] Jinarata[illegible]ka Thero . . 4
Ve[illegible] 6
A Mu[illegible] 6
News from Na[illegible] Centres . . . . . Human Rights 6
Indian Nati[illegible] Centre 7
Kampuchean [illegible] Centre 8
Sri Lanka Nat[illegible] tre 10
Meeting of th[illegible] of Buddhists of [illegible]pam, Kampuchea, the
Soviet [illegible] Mongolia 11
DOCTRINES OF DH[illegible]
Solidarity is the Bulwark of [illegible] 18
The Sutra Explained: Instruction to King Bimb[illegible] 19
Karma[illegible] Abh[illegible] Antara[illegible] (continued) by
Amara[illegible] eraratne 22
MAN AND CUL[illegible]
Treasur[illegible]he Cultural Tolerance 30
BUDDHISM IN[illegible] ENT COUNTRI[illegible]
Northern Thai[illegible]na Thai King[illegible] 35
AROUND THE WORLD
The Wo[illegible] the Wor[illegible]
Workers[illegible] Sa[illegible]d Gift o[illegible]
Session of Wo[illegible] Pre[illegible] in Wo[illegible] 46
Chemical Warfare
Against Schemes of Enemies of Peace 53
BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS
The Eminent Mongolian Sculptor—G. Zanabazar 57

● Editor-in-Chief : I. OCHIRBAL
● Editorial Office: ABCP Headquarters, Gangdanthekchenling Monastery, Ulan Bator, Mongolia
TEL. 29363, 23843, 29331
● Cable Address: Gangdan Ulan Bator Mongolia
● The Journal is published quarterly in English
I – 20

1984 THE JOURNAL No. 12
OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

ЖУРНАЛ МОСКОВСКОЙ ПАТРИАРХИИ

CONTENTS

Christmas Message from His Holiness Patriarch Pimen 2
Congratulatory Telegram from Patriarch Pimen to K. U. Chernenko 3
Reception at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses 3
Congratulatory Telegrams on the Occasion of the 35th Anniversary of the GDR 4
Congratulations to Archbishop Iakov of The Hague on His 70th Birthday . . 4
The Prime Minister of Finland Kalevi Sorsa Visits the Trinity-St. Sergiy Lavra 5

Patriarch Pimen Visits the Serbian Orthodox Church 6

CHURCH LIFE
Services Conducted by Patriarch Pimen 15
Patriarch Pimen's Address after Divine Liturgy on October 8, 1984 16
Patriarch Pimen's Speech During the Reception on October 8, 1984 16
Autumn Feast at the Trinity-St. Sergiy Lavra *by Deacon Feodor Sokolov* . . 18
St. Arseniy the Bishop of Tver 20
Celebrations of the Feast of the Synaxis of the Saints of Siberia *by Hegumen Dimitriy, Archpriest Boris Pivovarov* 25
Patriarch Pimen's Address on October 14, 1984 28
Feast of the Protecting Veil at the MTA *by Archpriest Stefan Zhila* 29
The Academic Year Opens at the MTA and MTS *by Father Vasiliy Stroganov* 32
Graduation from the MTA Precentorial Courses *by Deacon Feodor Rozhik* . . 32
Postgraduate Studies Begin at the MTA 33
Annual Congress of the Clergy and Laity of the Surozh Diocese *by Archpriest Pavel Krasnotsvetov* 34
In the Dioceses 34
Professor Emeritus Archpriest Mikhail Speransky (in memoriam) *by Hieromonk Innokentiy, P. Urzhumtsev* 38
Archpriest Photius Donahue (in memoriam) *by Archpriest Feodor Kovalchuk* . . 41
The Tragic Death of Sisters Varvara and Veronika *by B. Danilenko* 42

SERMONS
After Holy Communion *by Metropolitan Trifon Turkestanov* 45
Forefather Gideon *by Archbishop Gedeon* 46

PEACE MOVEMENT
Patriarch Pimen's Speech at the Reception in Honour of the Women's Delegation from Latin America and the Caribbean 48
Patriarch Pimen's Speech upon Receiving the Peace Medal of the Christian Social Association in Poland 49
The 40th Anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising *by Archimandrite Vladimir* 50
The 40th Anniversary of the Liberation of Byelorussia from the Nazi Invaders *by S. Trofimov* 51

ORTHODOX SISTER CHURCHES
The 70th Birthday of Archbishop Paul of Karelia and All Finland *by Archpriest Bogdan Soiko* 54
Visit by Distinguished Bulgarian Guests 55

OIKOUMENE
Patriarch Pimen's Speech at the Reception in Honour of Dr. Billy Graham . . 56
Fortnight in Spain (concluded) *by Bishop Anatoliy* 58
Annual Assembly of the EWIE in Herrnhut, GDR *by A. Chulyukina* 61

THEOLOGY
The Personality and Thought of His Holiness Patriarch Sergiy *by Prof. V. Lossky* 65

LITURGICAL PRACTICE 70

Contents 1984 72

The journal is published monthly in Russian and English

Editorial and Subscription Offices:
Box No. 624, Moscow 119435, USSR
Telephones—Editor-in-Chief: 246-98-48
English section: 245-20-13

Editor-in-Chief: **Archbishop PITIRIM of Volokolamsk,**
Head of the Publishing Department
of the Moscow Patriarchate

1-2571 (англ.)

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you for an excellent statement. We shall print your statement in the record.

I now call upon Mr. Weigel.

STATEMENT OF GEORGE S. WEIGEL, JR., PRESIDENT, JAMES MADISON FOUNDATION, WASHINGTON, DC

Mr. WEIGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for inviting me to join you today. I should like to begin by commending the committee for recognizing the crucial role that the American religious community plays in our foreign policy debate.

For the overwhelming majority of our religious fellow-citizens, the argument today is not whether but how religious organizations, leaders, intellectuals, and activities will enter this debate.

If our entry point for answering the question "How?" is the American religious community's address to United States/Soviet relations, and if we measure our answer by the degree of support the American religious community provides for the persecuted church, synagogue, and mosque in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R., the answer to "How?" is—not very well at all. The American Jewish community has been steady voice for its persecuted brethren; some American envangelical Protestants have become more vocal about the causes of Soviet Pentecostals and unregistered Baptists. But the mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic churches have been, to put it charitably, inexcusably lax.

If we measure our answer to "How?" by the way in which much of the mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic leadership has tried to focus the national debate on arms control and disarmament issues, I believe we get the same answer—not very well at all. Mr. Romerstein's testimony amply demonstrates this, I think.

The question I wish to address here today, though, is why: Why the failure to speak for the persecuted? Why the susceptibility to World Peace Council and Christian Peace Conference themes? Soviet active measures provide one part of the answer. But one would still have to ask the question why here. Why are important leadership elements in the American religious community vulnerable to such active measures?

The problem, I suggest, is in the order of ideas.

For at least 20 years now, a number of concepts have been achieving the status of common wisdom in much of the religious leadership of this country. Among the most prominent of these concepts are the following four:

One, that the Soviet Union is a defensive power, scarred by the experience of multiple invasions over the last two centuries;

Two, that the roots of United States/Soviet conflict lie in misunderstanding and poor communication, rather than in fundamental differences of values and interests;

Three, that an accommodating approach to the Soviet leadership is most likely to result in arms control or arms reduction agreements;

Four, that human rights issues—even religious liberty issues—have little to do with the problem of gaining agreement on reversing the arms race, and in fact may pose serious obstacles to that primary objective.

These four ideas—all fundamentally mistaken—have then been mixed with anti-anti-communism and a loss of faith in American leadership in the world to produce what I have called a détente psychology which makes religious leaders terribly vulnerable to World Peace Council and Christian Peace Conference teachings.

I want to pause just a moment over these last two concepts. The anti-anti-communism in the contemporary American religious community is not the actively pro-Soviet position one found on the old American left in, say, the 1930's. Rather, this contemporary position believes that fighting anti-communism is the first order of business, for unless Americans overcome what is assumed to be a visceral—at times, pathological—anti-communism, there can be no progress toward peace. Thus the Rev. Barbara Green, a Presbyterian, could tell the United Methodist Council of Bishops nuclear crisis project that the Soviet Union is our enemy only because we think of it that way.

As for a loss of faith in the possibilities of American leadership in the world, one might only note that the Rev. James Lawson, a consultant to the same United Methodist Church nuclear crisis project, told the bishops that they must help their congregants understand that the United States is "the No. 1 enemy of peace and justice in the world"—quoted in the United Methodist Reporter, May 10, 1985. Not everyone is so extreme, of course. But the idea that, on balance and considering the alternatives, American power is a force for good in the world is not a commonplace among many mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders, intellectuals, and activists today.

Why this has happened is a complicated story. The story involves theological confusions; it involves the war in Vietnam—and the publical mendacity of the U.S. Government at significant points during the war—it involves the domination of the contemporary American religious imagination by psychological categories, images, and understandings and a consequent disinterest in classic political theory; and it involves the way in which themes from the "psychology of détente" have come to prominence in other key opinion-shaping and values-teaching centers of American life—the universities, the media, the popular entertainment industry, many world affairs organizations, and, most recently, among professionals like doctors and scientists organized in agencies like Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Union of Concerned Scientists.

I discuss this complex causality in a recent article, Mr. Chairman, and ask that the article, "Beyond Containment and Détente: Pluralizing the Soviet Union"—Freedom at Issue, November/December 1985—be placed in the record as part of my testimony.

What is to be done?

The primary burden of reform falls within the religious community itself. American religious leaders must regain a sense of the absolute priority of religious liberty as the fundamental human right. American religious leaders must learn, once again, to reconnect human rights and the cause of peace. Peace and freedom are not an either/or business, since a Soviet Union honoring the solemn obligations it took upon itself in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1975 Helsinki Final Act would be a U.S.S.R. much likelier to be a partner in arms reduction and dis-

armament. Religious leaders must work with the decent and admirable instinct to reach out to other human beings across national borders, and from that instinct create exchange programs aimed at breaking down the Leninist control of religious institutions in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. Exchange programs operated according to this standard should be seen precisely as peace initiatives; exchange programs which are simply megaphones for the views of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should conversely be understood for what they are—further obstacles to both peace and freedom. Finally, American religious leaders must become vocal advocates for the dissident, unofficial peace movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, rather than coparticipants in the spurious peace activities of the World Peace Council, Soviet Peace Council, and Christian Peace Conference.

Government's role in addressing these problems is modest, but important.

Executive branch leaders, Senators, and Congressmen must not mask the nature of United States-Soviet conflict by phrases like "Live and let live," or "Let them have their rotten system." Rather, senior Government officials must persistently and calmly explain that the roots of United States-Soviet conflict lie in profoundly different understandings of the human person, and of history, society, and politics; that there is no effective public opinion in the U.S.S.R. able to temper the regime's international behavior; that challenging this Leninist monopoly of power is of the essence of the cause of peace; and that there is, therefore, an important linkage between human rights progress and progress toward arms reduction and disarmament.

The Congress should continue to fund, through agencies like the National Endowment for Democracy and the new United States Institute of Peace, research on how the American voluntary sector can be an instrument for opening windows in the closed societies of the Warsaw Pact.

The American religious community wishes, I believe, to be an instrument of peace. That goal is entirely honorable. But the churches' and synagogues' work for peace will serve bad ends for so long as deficient understandings of the nature of the United States-Soviet conflict dominate the perceptions of religious leaders, intellectuals, and activists. Understanding that conflict, and then creating nonviolent means for changing the Leninist monopoly of power in the U.S.S.R., is of the essence of religious ministry for peace and freedom.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The following material was subsequently supplied for the record:]

Beyond Containment or Détente: Pluralizing the Soviet Union

George Weigel

The long-awaited summit conference between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev in November may or may not achieve significant breakthroughs on arms-control issues and other bilateral questions in U.S.-Soviet relations. Present indications suggest that the odds are against any major accomplishment. The Western media can be expected to raise great hopes about summitry (the ultimate international photo opportunity); those hopes, dashed, will lead to all sorts of speculations about who was to "blame" for the summit's alleged "failure."

Two failed strategies

The argument over "blame" will follow the path of the two schools of thought that have dominated U.S. thinking about the USSR since World War II: the school of containment, and the school of détente. Containment, as originally formulated by George Kennan, sought to build a kind of *cordon sanitaire* around the USSR, checking its expansionist tendencies wherever they appeared, until the anticipated day that the internal collapse of the Soviet system ended the international threat posed by the Soviet state. This approach did much for Western Europe and South Korea, nothing for Hungary and, in any event, foundered and ultimately sank on the rock of Vietnam. Containment had its international successes; but it does not seem to have had any significant impact on patterns of social control within the USSR which, if less crude than they were in Stalin's day, are hardly less severe.

Détente, the alternative strategy, sought to engage the USSR in a dense web of economic, political, and cultural relationships with the West, in the hope that these would temper Soviet international activism; the high point of this approach was the "Basic Principles of Relations" agreement signed by President Nixon and General Secretary Brezhnev in Moscow in May 1972. Subsequent Soviet actions in the Yom Kippur War, in the Horn of Africa, in Angola and Mozambique, in support of the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, in the invasion of Afghanistan and the proxy-repression of Polish *Solidarnosc*, coupled with the seemingly inexorable expansion of Soviet military capability, suggest, however, that whatever the Soviet leadership understood "détente" to mean, it did not understand the peaceful resolution of international conflict according to the ideals of the UN Charter.

George Weigel is the president of the Washington, D.C.-based James Madison Foundation.

The deficiencies of détente, moreover, have not been confined to Third World conflict arenas. A psychology of détente has become widespread in American political culture, and most particularly in the American peace movement. As a result, Americans have been taught, over the past fifteen years, a host of dubious propositions: that the Soviet Union is essentially a "defensive" power, psychologically scarred by the experience of multiple invasions over the centuries; that the roots of U.S.-Soviet conflict have to do with problems of misunderstanding and poor communication, rather than with fundamental differences of interests and values; that an accommodating approach to the Soviet leadership is most likely to result in arms-reduction agreements; that issues of human-rights abuse in the USSR have little to do with the problem of gaining agreement on a reversal of the "arms race." These themes, redolent of the psychology of détente, are still received as common wisdom in those parts of American political culture—the religious community, the media, the universities, many world affairs organizations—most vocally concerned about war and peace.

The psychology of détente appeals to an understandable (and correct) instinct: that the world's leading democratic power should engage its principal adversary across the full range of issues on the global agenda. The desperately debilitating flaw here lies not in the general prescription, but in the analysis of the obstacles to its fulfillment, and particularly in the refusal to face squarely the nature of a totalitarian system governed according to Leninist principles by a privileged elite whose primary concern is the maintenance of its own power. This analytic failure typically results in a further failure to comprehend the nature, purpose, and extent of the Soviet global agenda, and the impressive array of forces (many of them nonmilitary) which the USSR now deploys throughout the world for achieving its political ends. Détente's answer to the question, "But what about the Soviets?" is that they are to be treated as any other great power, but no more than that, for that is what they are.

Containment, on the other hand, had a more accurate assessment of Soviet intentions and their relationship to Marxist ideology and Leninist politics (at least as originally formulated by Kennan). But containment, too, failed to satisfactorily answer the question, "But what about the Soviets?" Containment's failures were the obverse of détente's; a more accurate analysis was wedded to a policy of essential *dis*engagement. The West would challenge Soviet power and purpose only when the USSR

"Their rotten system" is a principal obstacle to peace, security, and freedom in the world, and until it changes we need not expect significant progress on the multiple and crucial issues on the world political agenda.

tried to expand its *imperium*; and thus containment was a basically defensive strategy. Containment might serve to maintain a fragile equilibrium in a dangerous world (no small accomplishment, to be sure). But containment failed to suggest the means to deal with what its original theorists understood to be the gravamen of the Soviet threat: the very nature of the Leninist system, which compelled a destabilizing role for the USSR in international public life.

Pluralization

The debate between proponents of one or another variant of détente and containment has grown increasingly sterile. Whatever else the November summit may or may not be good for, it ought to provide the occasion for a fundamental reconsideration of U.S. strategy toward the USSR. Such a reconsideration should marry détente's call for an intense engagement with the USSR across a full range of issues to containment's originally accurate assessment of the nature (and thus international purpose) of a Leninist state. Such a reconsideration would decline to accept President Reagan's infelicitous suggestion that we "let them have their rotten system."

"Their rotten system" is a principal obstacle to peace, security, and freedom in the world, and until it changes we need not expect significant progress toward agreement on the multiple and crucial issues on the world political agenda. Such a reconsideration would frankly recognize that, beyond containing Soviet expansionism, there is little the West can do to change Soviet policy and practice through force of arms. It would, therefore, devote considerable imagination to devising nonmilitary means for bringing about what containment originally hoped would happen through an ill-defined process of historical evolution: the breakdown of the Leninist monopoly of power within the USSR. Such a reconsideration would, in short, actively seek to *change* the present course of Soviet international policy by recognizing that this will inevitably involve changes in the internal structure of power in the USSR. And it would thus take the *pluralization* of the Soviet Union as its overarching objective.

The outlines of such an approach have been sketched by a number of theorists recently, most prominently Professor Aaron Wildavsky. Wildavsky argues, in *Beyond Containment*, that the Leninist monopoly of power in the USSR is the root cause of the destabilizing activities of the Soviet Union in the world. Conversely, as Wildavsky puts the case, the larger the number of independent centers of power within the USSR, the more the Soviets will be constrained to secure domestic consent for their foreign policy, and the more they will have to 'pay off' their partners by providing domestic largesse."

In Wildavsky's view, the fundamental lack of accountability between the organs of the Soviet state and the inmates of Soviet society is a principal reason why the Soviet leadership is able to mount an aggressive international posture. But Wildavsky's main aim is not merely to turn the Soviet leadership inwards, so that it will spend less on military hardware; the real aim of a strategy of pluralization is geopolitical: "The Soviet Union cannot live in peace with nations that are different and independent, because it cannot tolerate those self-same qualities within its own regime. Unless there is pluralization in the Soviet Union, it is only a matter of time and opportunity before it seeks to subjugate the only force in the world capable of resisting it."

"Offensive" containment

Wildavsky proposes that pluralization be conceived as a complement to containment; rather than being a reactive strategy, containment would be transformed into an offensive strategy, "aimed at the internal position of the Soviet Union from which the danger emanates." One can go even further, I think, and see pluralization as an essential component in an American peace strategy. Agreement between the world's superpowers is essential to any substantial progress on achieving the goals of peace, security, freedom, and prosperity in world affairs. However, agreement on the pursuit of that four-fold agenda is so unlikely as to be virtually impossible given the present structure of power in the USSR. A comprehensive American peace strategy thus requires not only a sustained effort at changing the external behavior of the USSR, but a parallel effort aimed at altering those internal dynamics of a Leninist state which give rise to Soviet aggression in the world.

Pluralization is, admittedly, a dangerous strategy. As Professor Wildavsky frankly admits, "though pluralization is apparently more pacific than a military line, it is aimed at the jugular—the communist-Leninist form of political organization—and therefore should be approached with care." Pluralization is, however, quite congruent with a peace strategy properly conceived: it uses nonviolent means for achieving needed change. It is, in Wildavsky's happy phrase, "a war of ideas to counter a war of violence."

Tactics

What might some of the elements in a strategy of pluralization be? Several suggestive examples come immediately to mind.

Since one central characteristic of a Leninist state is its insistence on monopolizing the flow of information within a society, a strategy of pluralization would vigorously

work to break that monopoly. It would seek to enhance the international broadcasting capabilities of the United States, not to conduct polemics against the USSR, but to provide accurate information on conditions within Soviet society (including the *nomenklatura* elite's system of privileges). Solzhenitsyn once described international radio broadcasts as "the mighty nonmilitary force which resides in the airwaves and whose kindling power in the midst of communist darkness cannot even be grasped by the Western imagination." Perhaps not, but we can certainly try, at considerably higher levels of capability than we now deploy. Breaking down the Leninist monopoly of information within the USSR is in the interest of both peace and freedom.

Exchange programs, carefully conceived and managed, are another potential instrument. The USSR has aggressively used scholarly, cultural, and, increasingly, religious exchange programs as instruments of foreign policy; the acquiescence of the National Council of Churches and, most recently, the American Bar Association in such activities is a major problem for the West's public diplomacy. A strategy of pluralization would reject the kinds of exchange programs that blatantly promote Soviet foreign policy objectives. Instead of these, it would design projects of cultural and scholarly exchange that would open windows in the closed society of the USSR. The Soviet state badly needs access to Western knowledge, Western

Pluralization is, admittedly, a strategy for the long haul. But there is no escape from history: the facts of the relationship between the Soviet system and Soviet foreign policy must be faced.

technological sophistication. Western developments in frontier fields like microbiology and cybernetics. Yet the West rarely uses these needs as a wedge to change the way the Soviets operate their end of exchange programs. Why not insist that the price paid by the USSR for participation in these programs be an expansion of the Soviet participants beyond those Soviet citizens being rewarded for acquiescence to the Leninist state? Why can't Western exchange leaders develop the sophistication to reject as exchange partners Soviet intelligence agents, and "scholars" whose sole purpose is to act as megaphones for the Soviet Foreign Ministry in the West? There are historical grounds for believing that the Soviets, after initial and bitter complaints, will eventually accept redefined rules for scholarly and cultural exchange if they want access to Western information badly enough. It is time, then, to take exchange programs out of the context of "building détente" and put them into the context of fostering pluralization in the USSR.

It is time to take exchange programs out of the context of "building détente" and put them into the context of fostering pluralization in the USSR.

Active and vocal advocacy on behalf of Soviet human-rights campaigners fits readily into a strategy of pluralization. The cause of religious liberty in the USSR is perhaps the most important instrument to be developed here, not simply because the impressive religious renaissance in the USSR deserves Western support, but because a freer church and a freer synagogue in the USSR are essential to breaking the Leninist monopoly of power in the Soviet state. To many in the American religious peace movement, the cause of religious liberty has taken a decidedly back seat to the cause of "peace," understood in the crudest forms of psychologized détente. If intense advocacy for dissident Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the USSR can be seen as an essential component of pluralization, itself a precondition to serious arms reduction; if it can be seen as a defense of both statutory and customary international law; then perhaps we can reverse today's disastrous situation, in which religious leaders, most of them operating with the most humane intentions, become instruments of Soviet foreign policy propaganda.

A strategy of pluralization would also address the Soviet peace movement, in both its official and unofficial forms. The official Soviet "peace" apparatus—the Soviet Peace Committee and its external expressions, such as the World Peace Council and the Christian Peace Conference—would be politely, deliberately, and firmly shunned. Conversely, appropriate links would be sought with the dissident, unofficial Soviet peace movement, represented by organizations such as the Group to Establish Trust between the USSR and the USA. Such groups are not without their own problems of analysis and prescription, and, in the nature of things, work with them must inevitably begin with small steps. But such small steps are considerably more important than large-scale cooperative efforts with the official "peace" *apparatchiki* of the Soviet state.

These examples suggest that, while there will be an important governmental role in a strategy of pluralization (e.g., through legislation orienting tax-supported exchange programs to this end), the chief burden will fall, initially, on American nongovernmental organizations (perhaps supported by quasi-governmental agencies such as the National Endowment for Democracy and the U.S. Institute of Peace). Here, changes in understanding must precede changes in action. A sense of fatalism now pervades many American NGOs dealing with the USSR: a sense that change within the USSR is so unlikely as to be chimerical at best and dangerous at worst. Yet it was not a proponent of détente, but one of its most stringent critics, Richard Pipes, who recently argued that "the Stalinist sys-

tem now prevailing in the Soviet Union has outlived its usefulness and . . . the forces for change are becoming well-nigh irresistible." The issue, then, is not *whether* the USSR will change, but *how*. A strategy of pluralization, aimed at creating conditions within the USSR that would make agreement on the pursuit of, say, arms reductions more likely, would thus seem to fall within the concerns of many American NGOs now most directly engaged with the Soviet Union.

The fundamental problem

The real taproot of resistance to a strategy of pluralization lies deeper, though; Wildavsky accurately describes it as "the understandable but debilitating desire not to confront the fundamental problem of American-Soviet relations: the incompatibility of regimes." The possible advantage of a strategy of pluralization, though, is that it affords the opportunity of acknowledging this incompatibility and then, rather than being paralyzed by it, doing something about it through nonmilitary means. Pluralization might thus serve an important domestic political purpose: it could provide, not middle ground, but better ground on which those dissatisfied with, but now committed to, either the containment or détente models could work together in devising the multiple instruments required for effective work on pluralizing the Soviet Union.

A strategy of pluralization is not a pre-cast set of answers to the multiple dilemmas of U.S.-Soviet relations. What it may provide, however, is something more important: a new framework for thought, one which marries the partial truths that now dominate public debate over these central questions of U.S. foreign policy. Pluralization is, admittedly, a strategy for the long haul. But there is no escape from history: the facts of the relationship between the Soviet system and Soviet foreign policy must be faced. Pluralization, as a horizon orienting both the U.S. domestic debate and governmental and nongovernmental approaches to the USSR, offers the prospect of addressing those hard facts in a way that advances peace, security, and freedom simultaneously. □

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much.

I think your testimony is excellent.

Let me ask you, for the purpose of being a devil's advocate, this question. Some years ago I remember seeing on television a situation in Iowa, I believe. At that time, Harold Hughes was the Governor of Iowa. He subsequently became a Senator and a religious leader. He is a liberal politician, a fine person with a very liberal view of things. However, he was faced with a situation in which the Mennonite peoples—I believe that they were Mennonites or Amish—did not wish to send their children to public schools in the State of Iowa. Gov. Harold Hughes is a very religious person himself, but this confrontation went on for a year or two. Finally, state action was taken.

It was on television. I remember the National Guard came, or the police, and the parents went to jail and so forth.

I may not have all the facts correct, but we in the United States do require that children must go to State approved schools. What is the difference between our requirements regarding the education of young people and some of the examples we heard about here this morning?

I know that there are great differences, but would each of you address that issue? We also require State approval of schools and so forth. Is that not correct?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I am not an expert in this general area, but if I may, on my own behalf, not on behalf of the U.S. Government, let me make some comments.

There is considerable difference between some peculiar aberrations that exist in our own country where there are conflicts in rights or conflicts in interests and a society in which the State is an enemy of religion per se and uses its State power to suppress religion and to persecute those who practice it.

If we have a State where people do not want to send their children to the State schools, but if, nevertheless, they provided a religious education to their children, their children's opportunities in our society would not be in any way closed.

In the Soviet Union, to obtain a higher education you must be a member of the Young Communist League. To be a member of the Young Communist League, you must profess atheism. You cannot be a member of the Communist Party's youth organization and believe in religion.

The opportunities for schooling are thus closed to those who openly profess their religion. Obviously some conceal it and pretend to be something that they are not.

But there is quite a bit of difference between that and the conflict of rights that sometimes show up in our own society and the kind of things that are done in totalitarian societies.

Mr. WEIGEL. I think that is the key point, Mr. Chairman, that there is a principled hostility to religious values, religious institutions, religious expression in totalitarian societies that is not, to use a Marxist phrase, "an accident."

The very nature of totalitarianism, as 40 years of scholarly literature have demonstrated, is that in a totalitarian state there is no distinction between the state and society. That is a fundamental distinction in our own system of government, it rests on Western understandings of these matters from the days of the Greeks down to the present. I think in situations such as those that Mr. Romerstein just cited, we really see the essence of the difference between us.

I do not think it is to the purpose of this hearing for me to get involved in my own views on church-state theory in America. I think the difference is between public policy arguments conducted within a constitutional framework in which rights are understood primarily as protections against the encroaching power of the state—our own situation—and a situation in which rights are understood as benefits of the state to be handed out by the state for the maintenance of good behavior and ideological purity.

Senator PRESSLER. How is the Christian Peace Conference financed and organized?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. We have some interesting information about its finances. Unfortunately, the information goes back to 1982. We have difficulty getting more up-to-date information.

In 1982, of some 2 million Czech crowns that they had in their account, only about 10,000 came from outside the Communist bloc; and in their hard currency account of about $60,000, less than $2,000 came from outside the Communist bloc. The rest of the money came from their affiliated groups, which, of course, are government-controlled, in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland, Romania, Hungary, and the U.S.S.R.

I mention the point that we have some difficulty updating this material. Part of it is because for a long time, the U.S. Government paid very little attention to this group. We have been very lucky in that European scholars, journalists, and clergy have been paying attention to this organization. We have been able to get some material from them.

One very distinguished Dutch journalist and scholar, Emerson Vermaat, is in Washington this week and I was hoping that he would be attending this hearing. He has been of great help to us in getting us material concerning not only this group but the World Peace Council and some of the other international Soviet fronts.

Senator PRESSLER. Are all the East bloc clergy who are active in the Christian Peace Conference merely tools of their governments?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. They are tools of their governments. Some of them come to these activities with more altruistic motives. They believe that they can ease the plight of their flock by collaborating with the government or they believe that there might be opportunities for dialogue with people in the West so that they can perhaps protect themselves and their own people from the more severe elements of the persecution.

But they have had to make a conscious decision that they would allow themselves to be tools of their government in order to participate in the Christian Peace Conference, and, in fact, they are used as such tools.

Mr. WEIGEL. Senator, if I could add just a gloss on that: In the argument over these issues in the American religious community, the idea that it is necessary for the life of the church for its clergy to be instruments of the regime is a very powerful theme. American religious leaders are genuinely reluctant to make moral judgments, if you will, about the motivational structure of their colleagues behind the Iron Curtain.

It is a powerful argument, but I do not think it is a persuasive argument because there are other voices from the religious community of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the voices of the persecuted, which have told us time and again—as Mr. Romerstein could detail more than I—that it is precisely the vocal advocacy of Western religious and human rights organizations that gives the persecuted church whatever slim margin of safety it enjoys under totalitarianism.

It seems to me that in any situation of this kind—of a gross and persistent pattern of human rights violations—the voices of the persecuted carry special weight. I would hope that that notion begins to come into play in the American religious community's debate over these questions.

Senator PRESSLER. Do the Soviets use the Christian Peace Conference to infiltrate Western peace and ecumenical movements? If so, how, where, and what do you know specifically about this?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The answer to the question, Mr. Chairman, is yes.

The example that I gave earlier of the World Council of Churches being manipulated on the issue of Afghanistan by the participation of the Christian Peace Conference and its collaborators I think is a classic example of this.

[The information referred to follows:]

20 Wall Street Journal 8/12/83

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Down From the Mount

The World Council of Churches has just descended from a mountain in Vancouver with a stone tablet saying that the focus of evil in the world today is the United States.

The U.S. is trying to "contain the aspirations of Central American people," the council said at its just-completed Sixth Assembly. It accused the Reagan administration of trying to "destabilize the Nicaraguan government, renew international support for Guatemala's violent military regimes, resist the forces of historic change in El Salvador and militarize Honduras."

The assembly opposed "any type of military intervention by the United States, covert or overt, or by any other government." It didn't see fit, however, to name any other names.

Indeed, the assembly rejected a proposal calling for an immediate Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, in favor of a resolution allowing Russian troops to remain in Afghanistan until an "overall political settlement" is reached, i.e., when the freedom fighters are crushed. Just to make sure, American delegates at the assembly voted with their Soviet and East bloc counterparts for a call for a cutoff of arms supplies to Afghan freedom fighters.

Moreover, the council refused to hear two appeals from Christians in Russia begging for a "helping hand to the persecuted faithful." One letter was circulated from the Christian Committee for the Defense of Believers' Rights in the U.S.S.R. accusing Soviet authorities of "implementing a policy of genocide against believers." It said that 33 Christian believers are currently in prison, labor camps or special psychiatric institutions and that 20,000 others are seeking to emigrate so they can practice their faith. The letter also charged authorities with harsh discrimination in jobs, education and housing.

Deacon Vladimir Rusak of Moscow also wrote to the council asking for help against religious persecution. He said he has been prevented from writing a history of the Russian Orthodox Church after the 1917 revolution by the church's own hierarchy and the KGB, which confiscated his archives in January. "I believe in the Lord, I love my church, feel concern for her future and wish to serve her—but not by a compromise of conscience, that price which is exacted from our church leadership and which I am being urged to pay," he said.

The council didn't take up the appeals because that would have intervened in the "internal situation" of a member of the WCC, of which the Russian church is a part, said WCC executive Ninan Koshy. The appeals recall a similar letter sent to the previous WCC assembly, in 1975 in Nairobi, by Father Gleb Yakunin of the Russian Orthodox Church, who accused Moscow of persecuting Christians. After sending the letter, Father Yakunin was convicted of "anti-state activities" and is now serving a five-year sentence in a Soviet labor camp.

All of this may come as a surprise to many of the approximately 500 million members of the more than 300 Protestant, Orthodox, Anglican and independent churches represented at the World Council. But it shouldn't. The council has long supported many of the same leftist revolutionary causes aided and abetted by the Kremlin and its proxies. There have even been charges that offerings from collection plates have been handed over by the council to guerrillas, possibly for arms purchases. An expose on the WCC and the U.S. National Council of Churches earlier this year by CBS's "60 Minutes" concluded that "whether it is by design or mischance, or deliberate manipulation from outside the churches, church money and the churches themselves are found to be supporting highly political movements."

The World Council is supported by the mainline U.S. Protestant denominations. After its Vancouver revelations, it would seem to us, its supporters have some explaining to do. A good time to start would be with Sunday's sermons.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. But they have also sent delegations from the Christian Peace Conference to the United States. There were some here just a few weeks ago, at a meeting of CAREE, which is an acronym for Christians Associated for Relationships With Eastern Europe, the American affiliate of the Christian Peace Conference. They tried to do a great deal to utilize those people to bring a message in support of Soviet propaganda needs to Western clergy and to the populace in general.

[The information referred to follows:]

CHRISTIANS ASSOCIATED FOR RELATIONSHIPS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

An Ecumenical Association for International Peace and Justice
and for Relationships with the Christian Peace Conference

Chairperson
DR. JAMES WILL
Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary
2121 Sheridan Road
Evanston, IL 60201
(312) 866-3963

Caree Communicator

Executive Secretary
KENNETH R. ZIEBELL
United Church Board
for World Ministries
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2433

ISSN 0732-9245

Newsletter # 15 March 25, 1983 Edited by Paul Mojzes
Rosemont College
Rosemont, PA 19010, USA

1983 Annual Meeting

CAREE members should reserve in their calendars the dates of Friday, October 28, through Sunday, October 30, 1983, for this year's CAREE Annual Meeting, which will be held in New York City. The program at the meeting will offer international perspectives on current peace and disarmament issues. Further plans and details will be announced later.

Support From Local Churches

Included with this mailing of the CAREE Communicator is a letter which has been prepared to bring CAREE's work directly to the attention of more local church congregations and to invite their interest and help. If you know of one or more congregations -- your own or any others -- which may be interested in CAREE's activities, this letter is for you to send to them, simply filling in the address. You can make additional copies of this letter, as needed. Or, if you wish, feel free to write your own letter to the congregations of your choice, using whatever portions of this letter you find helpful and adding any other ideas of your own, then sending it in your own name. Extending this type of contact will provide valuable help both for increasing CAREE's financial support and at the same time for making CAREE's activities more widely known and available at the grass-roots level.

CAREE is related to the National Council of Churches of Christ as part of the Europe Committee, Division of Overseas Ministries

CAREE Executive Committee Meeting

March 10,1983

Minutes

Present: James Will,Paul Mojzes, V. Bruce Rigdon, Marjorie Keenan, Allison Rock, Arthur McGovern, Philip Oke, Christoph Schmauch and Kenneth Ziebell.

James Will called the meeting to order and suggested that the Committee follow an informal agenda that would allow for collective reflection on such topics as publications, networking, new relationships with the NCC, and staffing, this in addition to ordinary business.

The minutes were then approved as presented and the treasurer gave her report. The CAREE account with the NCC is now being closed out. As soon as the latest printout is available, Allison Rock will verify the figures and then withdraw any balance from the account, redepositing it in the new CAREE account. At present, the estimated balance is $1160 in the general CAREE account and $681 in the special OPREE account. It was moved and seconded to accept the treasurer's report as presented. The motion was passed unanimously.

It was then suggested that Earl Pope, membership secretary, send out a second letter requesting membership renewals and seeking new members through a bulk mailing using the most complete mailing list used by the CAREE groups i.e. the Christian-Marxist Dialogue cr the OPREE list.

The finance committee had been requested to prepare a letter to be used by members in order to seek the support of local congregations. It was decided that a revised version of the draft prepared by the committee would be prepared and that it be signed by James Will and Kenneth Ziebell. Members could also draft their own letter, signing their own name if they felt that this approach would be better in a given situation.

Other financial matters that were discussed included the announcement that the tax exempt status of CAREE had not yet been granted but that it was expected that it soon would be. In the meantime, on the advice of the NCC, CAREE had, in effect, opened its own bank account, pending the tax exempt status. The balance in this new account was, however, low, and would remain so until the NCC account was totally closed out. Hence, there would be a delay in reimbursements.

Networking: The Committee then brainstormed possible enlargement of the CAREE network. Among the suggestions offered where to seek links with the peace movement and offer to help them to know the Eastern European countries. Likewise, the CPC would profit from contact with the peace movement. Another possibility would be to enlarge contacts with churches not members of the CPC in the German Democratic Republic and Poland, for example.

In answer to a question as to the progess on the brochures being prepared to help those planning to visit Eastern Europe, it was reported that Barbara Green is working on one on the German Democratic Republic and that Bruce Rigdon was now reviewing that on the Soviet Union. It was noted that the Presbyterians

were preparing a packet for those participating in their coming visit to the USSR. It was suggested that CAREE see if wider use could be made of the materials prepared. Kenneth Ziebell will contact the Presbyterians about this, noting that no use would be made of any materials until after the Presbyterian trip.

Bruce Rigdon reported that there was increasing concern on the part of the Orthodox Church in Moscow as to the number of requests for help that they were receiving from religious groups wanting to contact churches in the Soviet Union. He wondered if CAREE might not be able to serve as a clearing house for such requests, thus facilitating the work for the Orthodox Church in Moscow. It was noted that the NCC might be setting up a committee on Soviet relations that would have this as one of its functions. It was therefore decided to ask Bruce Rigdon to follow up on the development of this NCC Committee through Arie Brouwer.

Paul Peachey is now planning the CAREE trip to the USSR for 1984, under the egis of the Institute for Peace and Understanding.Further details need to be worked out with the corresponding Soviet body and additional funding must still be found.

CPC Activities: The date of the CPC Assembly is now uncertain due to difficulties in arranging financial transfers from one country to another. It may be held in 1984 or in 1985. Bruce Rigdon reported that he had told the CPC leadership that 1984 left very little lead time for US participants,who did want to have input to the preparations of the Assembly.
A World Assembly for Life and Peace against Nuclear War will be held in Prague in June 1983. There will be a preparatory committee meeting in Geneva on March 21-22, and the CPC would like to have a participant from CAREE. After discussion, it was decided to ask Robert Lodwick, CAREE's European representative,to sit in at the meeting if this was agreeable with the CPC. On the basis of his report, CAREE would take a decision concerning participation in the assembly itself.

The work of the task forces was then briefly reviewed. As noted above, the Human Rights task force was working on a study tour to the Soviet Union. The Christian-Marxist task force plans to inform the CAREE membership about what is going on in celebration of the Marx centennial and was planning another Christan-Marxist Dialogue for 1984. The Disarmament task force suggested as possible activities a seminar/workshop on how the Churches can support the World Disarmament Campaign. In addition, it could help facilitate a UN theme at the annual meeting.

This led to a discussion of the Annual Meeting. It was decided to hold it in New York ,starting on October 27. The general theme would be Christians and Churches in the Peace Movement in Eastern Europe. CAREE members in the New York area could form a task force to develop the details, including possible networking with the peace movement on this topic and with NGOs involved in disarmament.

Finally, Bruce Rigdon was asked to draft a letter to the CPC expressing concern at the lack of balance in some of the statements issued by CPC organs. This made it difficult for CAREE to build a constituency in the United States where the approach was more open and pluralistic. He will present a draft at the next Executive Committee meeting.

The next meeting of the Excutive Committee will be on June 9,1983 at 10:30 a.m. in 475 Riverside Drive.

Respectfully submitted
Marjorie Keenan

CHRISTIANS ASSOCIATED FOR RELATIONSHIPS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

An Ecumenical Association for International Peace and Justice
and for Relationships with the Christian Peace Conference

Chairperson
DR. JAMES WILL
Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary
2121 Sheridan Road
Evanston, IL 60201
(312) 866-3963

Caree Communicator

Executive Secretary
KENNETH R. ZIEBELL
United Church Board
for World Ministries
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870 -2827

Newsletter # 16 July 20, 1983 Edited by Paul Mojzes, Rosemont College
Rosemont, PA 19010

ANNUAL N.C.C. CONFERENCE AT U.N. SCHEDULED FOR SEPT. 13-15

Members of CAREE are invited to attend the Annual Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations at United Nations Headquarters in New York City on September 13 to 15, 1983. The Theme will be:

"The Challenge for Youth in our Changing Society, Preparing for International Youth Year: Participation, Development, Peace 1985"

The three day conference will include plenary meetings, panels, and discussion groups on disarmament, as well as on social, economic, psychological and environmental issues as they affect youth. The program will cover the roles of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations in helping young people to play a more rewarding and constructive role in society.

If you are a member of CAREE, you are entitled to attend. There is no registration fee. A buffet reception on September 13 ($10.00) and a dinner on September 14 ($13.50) will be the only conference expenses, payable in advance. A limited number of accommodations in private homes is available free of charge. The deadline for registration is August 23, 1983, although some possibility of later admission exists.

An application form may be obtained by writing to David R. Hunter, 196 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, New York 11231.

* * * * * * * * * * *

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE 1983 C.A.R.E.E. ANNUAL MEETING CAN BE FOUND ON A SEPARATE ENCLOSURE.

CHRISTIANS ASSOCIATED FOR RELATIONSHIPS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

An Ecumenical Association for International Peace and Justice
and for Relationships with the Christian Peace Conference

CAREE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
June 8, 1983, 10:00 a. m.,
meeting at UCBWM office, New York, NY

Present: Will (chair), Hunter, Mojzes, Oke, Rigdon, Rock, Schmauch, Ziebell
Guests: Thomas and Carol Pendell

MINUTES

1. The meeting was opened with a sharing of personal and international concerns among those present, followed by prayer by the Chairperson.

2. Minutes. The Minutes of the previous meeting, March 10, 1983, were approved as circulated in the CAREE Communicator.

3. Agenda. A proposed agenda was presented and, following addition of several items proposed by members, was adopted.

4. Treasurer's Report. The Treasurer presented Financial Reports, covering the period January-May. 1983, for both the CAREE general budget and OPREE (copies attached).

There was a general review of contacts which had been undertaken by individual members to follow up the letter which had been sent to denominations requesting contributions to CAREE's 1983 budget. A generally positive response was reported, and plans were agreed for the few remaining follow-up contacts needed.

It was agreed to send a final reminder in September to individuals who had not yet paid 1983 membership contributions.

The Treasurer then reported on the difficulties which had been encountered in recovering CAREE funds held in the NCC Treasury -- both 1982 balances and also new income received in January, 1983, prior to the opening of CAREE's separate bank account. At the present time, the CAREE account holds satisfactory balances on hand, both for general budget items and for OPREE. The Executive Secretary was directed to investigate possibilities and advantages of placing some or all of these balances in interest-bearing accounts.

Concern was expressed about lack of financial support from Catholic sources, and all members were urged to be alert to any possible approaches which might be helpful in this regard.

It was then agreed to receive the Treasurer's report with appreciation.

5. Tax-Exempt Status. It was reported that there had been several recent exchanges with the Internal Revenue Service through our lawyer, indicating that a final and positive decision on CAREE's tax-exempt status may be near. The most recent point of discussion was the question of the date on which the exemption would become effective.

6. CAREE Annual Meeting. As had been previously decided, the 1983 Annual Meeting will be held October 28-29 at the Churches Center for the United Nations. Philip Oke reported that a very suitable room has been reserved and also reported on approaches which had been made to potential guest speakers. It was agreed to produce a folder or flyer as soon as possible to publicize the Annual Meeting; several possible means of distributing publicity to interested persons outside the CAREE membership were recommended. For overnight accommodation for persons from outside the New York area attending the Annual Meeting, it was agreed to offer information on both the Vanderbilt YMCA and the Tudor Hotel.

7. Nominating Committee. Alan Geyer, Barbara Green, and Paul Peachey were appointed to be the Nominating Committee to select nominees for the offices to be voted on at the Annual Meeting.

8. Report from Human Rights Task Force. It was reported that plans have been made for a Study-Dialogue Tour to the USSR for American Scholars and Scientists in May or June, 1984, under the leadership of Paul Peachey and under the auspices of the Institute for Peace and Understanding. The tour would last 20 days and have as its theme "Peace and Human Being." External financial support is still needed to cover costs of the tour, and several possible sources of help were suggested to the Task Force.

It was reported that for the publication of Soundings translation is needed of an essay by Yuri Zamoshkin, and it was noted that payment for such translation would be charged to the Human Rights Task Force budget.

At this point the meeting recessed for lunch.

9. Ecumenical Affairs Task Force. Possible activities which might be pursued by the Ecumenical Affairs Task Force in the future were suggested: (a) itineration of Eastern European visitors; (b) encouraging US denominations to have special direct relationships with Eastern European churches, such as the United Church of Christ has developed with the Evangelical Church of the Union in Germany; (c) encouraging local contacts between Eastern European Orthodox priests serving parishes in the US and Protestants in their area.

10. Christian-Marxist Encounter Task Force. It was noted that a Christian-Marxist conference was intended to be held in 1984, but no further details were presently available.

It was reported that a Christian-Marxist dialogue held earlier this year in Chicago by Lutheran World Ministries was very successful. The role of CAREE and OPREE as background resources for this conference was noted.

11. "Clearinghouse" for US-USSR Ecumenical Relations. Bruce Rigdon reported that the previously indicated plans of the NCC Committee on Relationships Between Churches in the US and the USSR for a vastly enlarged program had been delayed by the move of Arie Brouwer, the Committee's Chairperson, to become WCC Deputy General Secretary. Bruce Rigdon is now Chairperson of this Committee, but further action must await future meetings and solicitation of funding.

He emphasized that the need for the proposed enlarged program is greater and more urgent than ever, citing a number of forthcoming planned visits which will require various forms of assistance:

Russian group to come to US, at invitation of NCC	spring, 1984
USSR seminarians to visit US	autumn, 1984
Official US delegation, including heads of communions, to visit USSR	autumn, 1984
Official USSR delegation to visit US	1985
Church Women United visit to USSR	autumn, 1983
US-USSR Citizens Dialogue visit	spring, 1984
United Methodist Board of Church and Society Study Tour	summer, 1985

It was recommended that the CAREE Executive Secretary should be added to the NCC Committee on Relationships Between Churches in the US and the USSR.

It was understood that further steps to define the "Clearinghouse" function in US-USSR church contacts should be taken at the NCC/ICIC meeting in September, 1983.

12. Regional Networking. The participation of Tom and Carol Pendell in the meeting for discussion of plans for Regional Networking was warmly welcomed. Tom Pendell reported on a meeting of 6 CAREE members in California on May 27, in which great enthusiasm was expressed for the development of CAREE's work on a regional basis. Deep appreciation was expressed for the planning reported from the California group.

The Minutes of the California group's meeting include a list of functions which might be carried on by regional groups. It was agreed to accept this list as the basis of the work of network coordinators or contact persons; it was hoped that such groups or contact persons for CAREE could be established in 15 metropolitan areas.

It was agreed that the California group would be considered a "pilot regional committee" of CAREE. Though the group would no longer be a Task Force, Tom Pendell reported their concern that attention to Third World issues, which had previously been the West Coast group's assignment as a Task Force, should not be neglected.

Possible itineration of Eastern European delegates to the WCC Assembly in Vancouver was discussed, but it was understood that this may not be practical in light of the Eastern Europeans' travel arrangements. Nevertheless, it was felt that local visits by the Eastern European speakers at CAREE's Annual Meeting -- Bishop Toth and Dr. Krusche -- should be possible. It was agreed to designate up to $500 from the budget item for Itineration of Eastern Europeans to be used for the itineration of such visitors to California.

The concern of the California group was emphasized that CAREE should be a genuinely national organization. This aim was agreed, but the financial obstacles involved in including persons from all parts of the US in meetings were likewise recognized. An action combining these concerns was then agreed, providing that (a) West Coast representation at all CAREE Executive Committee meetings should be made possible, (b) all Executive Committee members in making travel arrangements should seek the cheapest available fares, and (c) the

California group should be encouraged to develop financial support from local sources. It was further affirmed that Tom Pendell's expenses in attending this meeting should be covered from the budget item for the Executive Committee.

13. OPREE. Paul Mojzes commented on 1983 issues of OPREE and indicated that there are now approximately 60 paying subscribers. The possibility of binding past years' issues of OPREE was considered, but it was decided to take no action now.

14. Other Publications. It was agreed that there would be an issue of the CAREE Communicator in July.

It was anticipated that the text of the planned travel brochure on the USSR would be completed during the summer. The Executive Secretary was directed to follow up on the current status of the brochure on the DDR. Utilization of the materials prepared for orientation of the group which visited the USSR in May will be discussed with the Presbyterian organizers.

15. CPC Assembly. It was noted that the dates of the CPC Assembly have been fixed for June 21-27, 1985. It was agreed that Edna McCallion should be asked to be chairperson of the CAREE committee for selecting and coordinating US participants in the Assembly, and that the Executive Secretary should be added to the membership of the committee. It was agreed that the committee to recommend to CPC the names of CAREE members for appointment to CPC Committees should consist of James Will, Bruce Rigdon, Lamar Gibble, plus whoever is elected Chairperson of CAREE at the 1983 Annual Meeting.

Fund-raising from US sources for the expenses of the CPC Assembly is to be pursued later in 1983.

No action was taken on the proposed drafting of a letter to CPC.

16. World Assembly for Peace and Life in Prague, June, 1983. The various efforts which had been undertaken to arrange for CAREE representation at the forthcoming Assembly in Prague were reported. At present, only Bruce Rigdon and Philip Oke are known to be planning to attend.

Allocation of $232 from the budget item for Travel to International Meetings was approved for the expenses of Philip Oke's travel to this Assembly.

17. Brief Reports. The Chairperson noted the forthcoming retirement of Charles Gray from his pastorate, and it was agreed to send a message of recognition.

Chris Schmauch commented on plans for the New Hampshire Symposium on the German Democratic Republic.

Bruce Rigdon reported on the CPC Consultation on European Security and Cooperation, which was held in Budapest in May.

Paul Mojzes reported on the last meeting of the NCC/DOM Europe Committee and on its Statement on Denial of Religious Liberty in Albania, which was subsequently adopted by the NCC Governing Board.

Paul Mojzes also discussed plans for a Christian-Marxist Symposium to be held in Vienna, November 30 - December 4, 1983.

There was a brief sharing and discussion of reactions which members had received to the recent criticism of CAREE in Time magazine.

18. Next Meeting. It was agreed not to schedule any further meeting of the present Executive Committee prior to the Annual Meeting in October.

The officers were authorized to deal with any exceptional matters which might arise on which action is required in preparation for the Annual Meeting.

It was agreed that the present Executive Committee should meet together with the newly elected Executive Committee for supper and a meeting following on Saturday evening, October 29.

19. Adjournment. There being no further business, the meeting was the adjourned.

Kenneth R. Ziebell
Secretary pro tem

July 1, 1983

CHRISTIANS ASSOCIATED FOR RELATIONSHIPS WITH EASTERN EUROPE

An Ecumenical Association for International Peace and Justice
and for Relationships with the Christian Peace Conference

Chairperson
ALICE WIMER
[illegible] Grand Street
Alameda, CA 94501
(415) 522-2556

Executive Secretary
KENNETH R. ZIEBELL
United Church Board
for World Ministries
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2827

CAREE ANNUAL MEETING

The 1985 Annual Meeting of CAREE will be held Friday, October 25, and Saturday, October 26, in New York City. Members and prospective members are urged to attend this exceptionally valuable opportunity to discuss concerns for peace and East-West issues with outstanding guest leaders and to coordinate plans and strategies for our own work. The opening session will begin at 2:30 p.m. on October 25 at The Interchurch Center.

Program

Friday, October 25, at The Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York

2:00-2:30 p.m.	Registration
2:30-5:30 p.m.	Opening Address by Metropolitan Paulos Mar Gregorios, a President of the World Council of Churches and a Vice President of the Christian Peace Conference
6:00-7:00 p.m.	Dinner

(continued on reverse side)

(Detach and return this form to indicate your attendance at the Annual Meeting.)

CAREE
c/o UCBWM
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115

I/we will be attending the 1985 CAREE Annual Meeting. Payment of the registration fee ($10 per person) is enclosed.

Name (s) _____

Address _____

Total payment enclosed:

7:00-9:00 p.m.	An Evening with the Leadership of the Christian Peace Conference: Following the Sixth All Christian Peace Assembly, Where Do We Go From Here?
	Speakers:
	Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev, Chairman, Continuation Committee, CPC
	Dr. Lubomir Mirejovsky, Secretary General, CPC

Saturday, October 26, at the Church Center for the United Nations
777 United Nations Plaza, New York

9:00-9:30 a.m.	Worship
9:30-10:30 a.m.	"The Role of the NGOs in the Fifth Decade of the United Nations" Speaker: Dr. Philip Oke, CPC Representative at the UN
10:30-11:30 a.m.	"The Nuclear Eschatology of the New Christian Right: Armageddon — the Doctrine of Survivable Nuclear War" Speaker: Mr. Andrew Lang, Research Director, The Christic Institute, a religious public policy center
11:30-12:00 noon	Summary — CAREE leadership and participants
12:00-1:00 p.m.	Lunch
1:00-4:00 p.m.	CAREE Business Meeting
4:00 p.m.	Adjournment

Meals

Arrangements will be offered for participants to have Friday dinner and Saturday lunch as a group, but definite advance reservations will be needed. Details and prices will be sent to those who pre-register to attend the meeting.

Lodging

Those from outside the New York area who need lodging accommodation are responsible for making their own arrangements. Reservations should be made well in advance. Two places located within walking distance of the Church Center for the United Nations which have been used in the past are:

Tudor Hotel
304 East 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017 986-8300
(single and double rooms with private bath)

Vanderbilt YMCA
224 East 47th Street
New York, NY 10017 755-2410
(single, double, and triple rooms without private bath)

Senator PRESSLER. Has the Christian Peace Conference attempted to influence or infiltrate the World Council of Churches? The National Council of Churches?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir. They have been extremely active in that, in attendance at World Council of Churches meetings, in attempting to influence that organization. The group I mentioned earlier, CAREE, is an active participant in the National Council of Churches.

Mr. WEIGEL. Senator, could I simply add another footnote to the discussion here.

I would certainly defer to Mr. Romerstein's detailed knowledge of this dimension of the problem. It is real. It has to be faced calmly.

I would hope we would not go away from these hearings thinking that infiltration is the only problem, because the problem is much worse than that. In a sense, the thirties were an easier time to have these arguments because there were visible cadres of people who consciously acted as instruments of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

My testimony was trying to suggest that this has gotten much more complicated and, in a sense, much more problematic. While cadres are a problem today, while penetration is a problem, there is also a set of ideas loose among people who are not part of the CPC world, not part of the World Peace Council world, and who, when asked if they understand that they are objectively, if not intentionally, forwarding the foreign policy goals of a regime they clearly find distasteful, are quite shocked to find that that is the case.

So there is an enormous amount of intellectual reform required within the American religious community. That is the necessary parallel to resisting the blandishments of the CPC, the World Peace Council, the Moscow Patriarchate, and so forth.

Senator PRESSLER. The Moscow Patriarchate does what?

Mr. WEIGEL. The Moscow Patriarchate, as I think Mr. Romerstein's documents indicate, has occasionally been a voice for the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Government in world ecumenical and "peace" programs.

This problem is going to intensify over the next 3 years, as we approach the millenium of Christianity in what is now the Soviet Union.

The perversion of the peace movement during that celebration is going to be a major problem.

Senator PRESSLER. Is there a connection between the Christian Peace Conference and the Soviet KGB?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir; there is.

The Christian Peace Conference, as with all the international Soviet fronts, is controlled by the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, which is a different Soviet entity than the KGB.

Senator PRESSLER. It is controlled by what? Repeat that, please.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. The International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, which is headed by Boris Ponamarev.

Senator PRESSLER. He is in the Politburo?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. Yes, sir.

The KGB always plays a role in these organizations, usually a very covert role, in using them for spotting and assessing for recruitments. The KGB officers are able to meet with Westerners through these organizations and be able to determine which ones might be likely recruits for KGB operations, either to collect information for the KGB or to do influence operations for the KGB.

But occasionally this very covert operation gets so close to the surface that we can see it with the naked eye, and in the case of the CPC there is such an example.

Radomir Bogdanov, a long-time high-ranking official of the KGB, whose current cover is deputy director of the Institute of the United States and Canada of the Soviet Union, the Arbatov Institute, has been an active participant in the activities of the CPC. As I say, he is a very, very senior KGB officer.

Senator PRESSLER. What does the Christian Peace Conference plan for 1986?

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. They will be very active participants in the U.N.-designated International Year of Peace. They will be involved in attempting to get Western clergy and Western religious people involved in Soviet sponsored peace activities.

But I think we are beginning to see the beginnings of another very interesting propaganda campaign. The Soviets have been very hurt by the revelations of their denial of human rights. You will remember that just before Gorbachev went to Paris, he was interviewed by the French press and asked about the conditions of Soviet Jews, and said well, the Soviets Jews have it better than the Jews anyplace else in the world.

This, of course, is bizarre. I am Jewish myself and I know something about that subject.

However, the interesting thing about it is the Soviets have just produced a pamphlet which claims that Jews are persecuted in the United States.

[The information referred to follows:]

Andrei Konstantinov
Yuri Andreyev

JEWS IN THE USA

THROUGH THE EYES OF AMERICANS

Novosti Press Agency Publishing House
Moscow 1985

CONTENTS

PREFACE	3
JEWS IN THE USA: A HISTORICAL ABSTRACT	9
ANTI-SEMITISM IN "SHADES OF GREY"	18
"WE CALL YOU UP IN AN APPEAL..."	33
JEWS AND NEGROES: INCITING A CONFLICT	44
"IN THE NAME OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE"	51
IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION	61

0303010000

© Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1985

In the USA "...even today vestiges of racism and anti-Semitism remain. Synagogues are vandalized, Jews and others are harassed and mocked, and Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan have attempted to march through Black and Jewish neighbourhoods."

*Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America (Excerpt from the Address to Representatives of the United Jewish Appeal, March 19, 1984)**

PREFACE

This admission by the President of the United States, which appears as an epigraph to the present publication, straightaway reveals a number of things. Firstly, that anti-Semitism, as a variant of racist ideology and practice, still thrives in a country claiming to be nothing less than a "Heaven on Earth for the humble and the persecuted". It is the ruling elite of this very country which vociferously insists on its "devotion to human rights"—when these relate to foreign states—and turns its back on violations of the rights of the minorities, various ethnic and social groups in the United States itself. Secondly, that with the help of subtle nuances in the President's pronouncement—such oblique phrases as "*even* today", "*vestiges* of racism and anti-Semitism"—the real magnitude of the predicament in which many Americans of Jewish origin find themselves is camouflaged. Of course, no one could in all seriousness expect the US President, especially when addressing representatives of Jewish bourgeoisie, to admit that nearly

* *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*. Washington, G.P.O., 1984, Vol. 20, No. 11, p. 351.

Mr. ROMERSTEIN. I think we are going to see the CPC deeply involved in this campaign to pretend that the human rights violations are in the West and not in the Soviet bloc.

Senator PRESSLER. Please explain the term the psychology of detente and its effect on this issue.

Please also discuss the effect of U.S. Government policies on the susceptibility of churches to be receptive to the CPC line.

Mr. WEIGEL. It is always a scholar's temptation to refer a question to a printed article. For the sake of time I will yield to that temptation at this point and say, again, that my essay in the November/December number of Freedom at Issue goes into this at some length. I would be grateful if that essay were made part of the record of this hearing.[1]

To be very brief, I think there have been two principal theories of how the United States should conduct policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union since the Second World War—containment and detente.

Detente arose for many reasons, but certainly one of them was a correct sense that containment was essentially a defensive strategy. It did not give the United States a proactive role vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

What is necessary today is to combine containment's accurate description of the nature of the Soviet regime and its international purpose with Leonid Brezhnev's concept of detente: A war of ideas conducted on all fronts and on all possible occasions throughout the world.

We do not do this very well either as a society or, I must say, frankly, as a government.

The political pressure put on a public official in this country to assure constituents that there is not really a fundamental division in the world is intense. I am sure you know this, Mr. Chairman, from your own experiences in South Dakota. Were you to go on television in Sioux Falls and say, "I must tell you that this is not a misunderstanding, this is not a problem of communications, there are fundamentally different ideas of what the human person is, what society is, what politics are for," you would get a lot of heat for that.

But that is an accurate description of the nature of the conflict.

Now I would put an important twist on this. While there is certainly a role for United States military power in containing Soviet expansionism, the instruments we have available for conducting a war of ideas are all nonmilitary. They should be immensely attractive to a peace movement that wants to stand for both peace and freedom.

The point here is not that there shouldn't be a religious peace movement in the world, but that it should be a religious peace movement which understands the linkage between peace, human rights, and security.

Unfortunately, because there has not been sufficient thought on how that kind of peace effort might be mounted, a conviction that concentrating on misunderstanding and bad communication will

---

[1] The article referred to appears on p. 211

bridge this fundamental conflict has won the day among many religious leaders, activities, and intellectuals.

The way to counter that, I think, is with a better set of ideas on the nature of the conflict and how it can be addressed through a long-term process of what I call, in my envy, pluralizing totalitarian societies.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

There are some additional questions that staff will give you for the record. Your testimony has been excellent.

We thank you very much.

Our final witness will discuss strategies for a response, governmental and nongovernmental. We will have only one witness, David Jessup.

Mr. Jessup is one of the founders of the Institute on Religion and Democracy and is an active layman in the United Methodist Church.

He is also currently special assistant to the Director of the AFL–CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development.

From April 1975 to April 1985, he worked in a similar capacity with the AFL–CIO Committee on Political Education.

He served as the Chairman of Frontlash, a youth voter participation project from 1970–75. He also directed the Inter-American Youth Conference in Bogota, Colombia, in December 1969, after serving 2 years in the Peace Corps in Peru.

Mr. Jessup received an M.A. in sociology from the University of California in Berkeley and a B.A. in biology from the University of Colorado in Boulder.

He has contributed to several publications, including an article entitled, "Can Political Influence be Democratized," in parties, interest groups, and campaign finance laws, published by the American Enterprise Institute, and an article on religious freedom in World Affairs, spring 1985.

We welcome you to the committee and look forward to your statement.

STATEMENT OF DAVID JESSUP, MEMBER, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, INSTITUTE ON RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

Mr. JESSUP. Thank you, Senator.

My name is David Jessup. I am here in my individual capacity as a board member of the Institute on Religion and Democracy. Extra copies of my statement are on the back table.

I was asked to offer some thoughts on the question of what kind of strategy we might seek in trying to counter the attacks on religious freedom in the Eastern bloc. In trying to develop such a strategy, we must distinguish between different types of repression of religious freedom that have been referred to earlier here by Mr. Romerstein and others.

Perhaps the most familiar of the two major types of repression is the overt kind of arrests and jailings and sometimes torture of individual religious believers. That kind of repression, I think, can best be countered by a combination of silent diplomacy and public protest.

It has become very clear by now that silent diplomacy is not enough, and that it can best succeed against a background of public outcry over what is happening.

It is for this reason that the case of Anatoly Scharansky may be resolved sooner than the case of a Gleb Yakunin, simply because of the kind of campaign that has been mounted and the public attention drawn to the case of the former.

But perhaps the second type of religious repression, which I have called here expropriation—expropriation of religious organizations to serve the political purposes of the totalitarian state—is the longer term and more difficult type of repression to counteract.

The first step in counteracting it is to recognize that it exists.

One of the reasons it is difficult to recognize is because the more successful it is, the more its outward manifestations create the appearance that religious freedom exists.

I gave you several examples in my written testimony that I will not repeat. But the first step is to come to grips with that form of religious repression.

How do we develop a strategy against it?

It seems to me that any type of strategy must have, as its ultimate objective, the purpose of increasing the independence of religious organizations in the Eastern bloc. It is very similar to what George Weigel called the pluralization of the Soviet Union in his article. In fact, his thoughts were so similar to mine that I wondered how he found out what I was going to say before I did and arranged to appear first.

I suggest four types of activities that might form a part of this strategy. One is providing direct support to religious organizations: sending Bibles, food, financial assistance, publications—those kinds of things—to reduce religious organizations' and individuals' dependence on state sources. Of course, the way you do that differs quite radically from society to society.

The second activity would be expanding personal contact. Here I would echo the comments that have been made earlier, that United States churches simply must go beyond the official types of contacts. They must find ways in these exchange tours to make contact with the dissidents or even the official church leaders who, even though they go along with the requirements of the Soviet system, really are not a part of it in the collaborationist sense.

Similarly, in trips of Eastern bloc religious believers to this country, we must find ways to bring pressure to expand the kinds of people that are allowed to come to the United States on exchange programs.

The third activity would be a campaign for increasing public awareness of religious repression through conferences, speaking tours, forums of this kind, and the kinds of conferences that my organization, the Institute on Religion and Democracy, has sponsored in the past.

Fourth is an activity which I have called bargaining with East bloc officials. Here we must seek incremental changes that can make a difference in the independence of Eastern bloc religious organizations—little things that may not seem so dramatic or important, which serve the purpose of expanding the autonomy and independence of those organizations.

There are lots of opportunities for such bargaining. Soviet officials want things from Western religious groups and from Western governments, and there is no reason we cannot include certain demands or requests, such as allowing churches in the Soviet Union to sponsor evening religious music concerts, which are prohibited now by their laws. Something as simple as that could become a part of the negotiations between U.S. religious organizations and Soviet officials.

This kind of four-part campaign is fairly straightforward. It is not at all beyond the organizational and financial capacity of our religious institutions. The problem is that there are several arguments that get in the way and serve as roadblocks to fulfilling this type of strategy and campaign.

One of those arguments that you hear over and over again is that a public campaign for religious freedom will endanger believers in the Soviet bloc even more and increase government pressure upon them.

In response, I must say that I do not believe it is true. My own personal experiences in places like Nicaragua would lead me to conclude quite the opposite. Certainly the dissidents in the Soviet Union, who take such great risks to bring materials out to explain their situation, are not afraid of public attention. They want public attention. They think public attention affords them some measure of protection. Even many of the official church leaders in the Soviet Union who are not completely collaborationist with the regime would welcome, as they have said many times in private, greater Western church criticism of their system because that would give them more bargaining room with Soviet officials to increase little by little their degree of autonomy and independence.

A second argument that you often hear concerns the problem of access. There are a number of church organizations in this country that do have a legitimate problem here. That is, in order to gain access to deal with their affiliates of their own denomination in the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc, they have to play a rather careful game with Soviet officials because that access can always be denied.

But I do not believe that problem is insurmountable.

Since most church bureaucracies are quite large and have a variety of semiautonomous agencies within them, it would not be too difficult to devise a strategy where one agency or one group of people play the silent diplomacy game and whisper sweet words to Soviet officials, while other parts of the bureaucracy take on the role of promoting the issue of religious freedom.

It seems to me that issue could be finessed with a little imagination and courage.

A final argument which you often hear, and I think the one with the least legitimacy, is the one that George Weigel referred to, and that is the fear that a public campaign on behalf of religious freedom will endanger the chances for peace with the Soviet Union.

I have heard presentations of this argument on several occasions. The argument I hear goes something like this.

No. 1, nuclear war is awful.

No. 2, to avoid nuclear war, Christians must pressure their governments to reduce arms.

No. 3, in order to induce U.S. Christians to pressure their government, there must be more trust developed between the United States and Soviet people, and in order to increase that trust, U.S. Christians must discover that there are millions of Christians in the Soviet Union who want peace, just like us, and if we put too much emphasis on the issue of religious repression, we will destroy the basis of that trust by reinforcing negative stereotypes.

That argument, I believe, has two major flaws.

One is that it reverses the logic for developing a prudent defense. Logically, you would start out with the question, what is the nature of the Soviet system, and, given the nature of that system, what kind of defense do we need to counteract it? Instead, this argument starts out with a preconceived notion of what type of defense is acceptable, and then turns around and asks the question, how must we modify our view of the Soviet system in order to gain acceptance for that type of defense.

It is a reversal of logical reasoning.

The second major flaw, of course, is that while U.S. Christians are free to criticize their governments and mount peace campaigns, Soviet citizens are not, and until they are, there will simply be a tremendous imbalance in the peace movement. The only way to overcome that is to make sure that a campaign for religious freedom and independence for all Soviet organizations is part and parcel of any peace campaign. The two must go together, as George Weigel has so eloquently explained.

So, I think for all these reasons, the cause of peace is inseparable from the cause of religious freedom. Unless we can overcome these conceptual blockages, it will be very difficult, I believe, to mount a campaign for religious freedom in the Western religious community.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to testify.

[Mr. Jessup's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID JESSUP

STRATEGIES FOR INCREASING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE EASTERN BLOC

My name is David Jessup; I am a board member of the Institute on Religion and Democracy. Our organization recently co-sponsored, along with the Department of State and several other organizations, a conference on religious freedom. Conferences and hearings such as these are important components in any strategy for dealing with religious repression. You are to be congratulated for holding them, and I thank you for the opportunity to speak.

In developing a strategy for increasing freedom of religion, it is useful to distinguish between two ways in which that freedom is denied. These might be called repression and expropriation.

Repression is perhaps the most familiar of the two, characterized by the arrest, imprisonment, and occassional torture of individuals. To counter such barbarities, silent diplomacy is not enough. Quiet, behind-the-scenes negotiations, whether carried out by church or government officials, work best against a backdrop of public outcry and media attention. That is why the case of Anatoly Sharansky is likely to be settled before that of Father Gleb Yakunin. The campaign of protest organized on Sharansky's behalf has helped put his case on the agenda of many East-West negotiations, public and private, while that of Yakunin languishes.

The second form of denying religious freedom is less well recognized; namely, the expropriation of religious organizations to serve the political purposes of the totalitarian state. The most compelling description of this process is found in the "Furov Report" of the Soviet Council on Religious Affairs, a document smuggled out of the Soviet union and published in this country by Blaho and Olga Hruby, to whom we owe a debt of gratitude. An excellent description of that report is included in an important article by Joshua Muravchik published recently in This World magazine.

In the Soviet Union, the Council on Religious Affairs regulates all aspects of church life. Churches are allowed to exist only on the condition that they promote Soviet foreign policy goals, extoll the virtues of the state, and endure repression while denying to the outside world that it exists.

The problem with this second type of repression is that the more it succeeds, the more it will be interpreted not as repression but as its opposite. In Orwellian fashion, repression becomes freedom.

A recent example may be found in the reaction of some U.S. church leaders to Fidel Castro's campaign for what he calls a "strategic alliance" between religion and revolution in Cuba. For more than a decade the Castro government has cultivated several Cuban protestant church leaders whose access to foreign travel permits appears to rise in direct proportion to the fervency of their support for the regime. On June 27, 1984, Fidel Castro signaled the success

of this strategy by attending the church service of a particularly cooperative Methodist pastor.

Instead of recognizing this gesture for what it was, a high ranking United Methodist official in New York rejoiced that Castro's historic visit "publically legitimized the Church" by reassuring Cubans that it would not be considered unpatriotic to be a Christian. He did not bother to add that this might apply only to certain kinds of Christians joining certain approved churches—those that have been successfully expropriated.

In Nicaragua, the appointment of priests to the government and the favorable treatment of pro-Sandinista religious groups are cited by many U.S. clergy as evidence of religious freedom. Worse still, many U.S. protestant agencies contribute large sums of money to those Nicaraguan religious groups most closely tied to the regime, while ignoring or even criticizing the independent church sectors struggling to maintain their autonomy in the face of official harrassment and intimidation.

Most protestant churches in Nicaragua are small and lack powerful international backing. Few pastors are willing to speak frankly to religious delegations from the U.S. who are perceived to be pro-Sandinista, fearing their words may be repeated to the very Nicaraguan government officials who regulate their existence. Their refusal to criticize their government is often cited as proof that religious liberty exists in Nicaragua. The silence of the fearful is used as evidence that there is nothing to fear.

I mention these examples because the necessary first step in developing a strategy is to recognize the problem. In this case, the problem is the expropriation of religious organizations to serve the purposes of the state. A counter-strategy must ultimately aim at increasing the <u>independence</u> of such church bodies.

Four types of activities might serve to increase independence, if only in incremental ways:

- Providing direct support. Sending Bibles, food, financial assistance, publications, materials, radio broadcasts and other services directly to churches and individual believers. Increasing the supply of such items will reduce dependence on government controlled sources. The manner of furnishing such support will vary from country to country.

- Expanding personal contact. Western churches must expand their exchange programs to include unofficial as well as official churches, dissidents as well as conformists. Westerners must go beyond the confines of official ecuminical meetings and seek creative new forms of contact through tourist visits, exchanges of Christmas cards and letters, development of sister congregations, and other forms of communication.

- Increasing public awareness. Excellent sources of information about religious repression in the Eastern bloc already exist, through Keston College, RCDA, and a number of other organizations. What is lacking is a campaign for public awareness to publicize their findings, through speaking tours, public forums, publications, films and other activities.

- Bargaining with East-bloc officials. Many Western religious institutions are in a position to negotiate with East-bloc officials over incremental changes in policy. Soviet officials are eager for U.S. church participation in certain activities. In return, U.S. Church officials might bargain for permission for their counterparts to organize youth groups or set up religious music concerts, activities which are currently prohibited. Official delegations should insist on meeting dissidents, and seek ways for a wider variety of Soviet citizens to travel abroad.

Such a campaign is not beyond the organizational capability of Western religious institutions, if the will were there. Unfortunately, several arguments have been used to resist such a strategy.

One is the belief that a public campaign for religious freedom will endanger believers in the Soviet bloc and increase government restrictions against them. This argument is vigorously contested not only by the dissidents, who take great risks to increase public awareness of their plight, but by many official clergy as well, who explain in private that protests by Western church officials give them extra leverage in seeking a measure of autonomy from government regulations.

A second argument involves the problem of access. Many denominations, including some regarded as "conservative," believe they must not offend Soviet officials if they are to gain entry to deal with their affiliates within the Soviet bloc. They fear that public involvement in the religious freedom issue may jeapordize that access.

The problem is that the price of admission is high. The Soviet state demands not just silence, but public affirmation that religious freedom exists within its borders. It seeks to enlist Western churches in the cause of perpetrating the Great Lie.

Overcoming this dilemma will require imagination and finesse. Perhaps a division of labor is called for. Some agencies within a denomination might play the silent diplomacy game, making sympathetic noises to Soviet officials to insure access, while other agencies take on the task of informing and activating their members on the religious freedom issue.

A final argument — and the one with the least legitimacy — is that a public campaign for religious freedom will endanger the chances for peace. That argument goes something like this:

1. Nuclear war is awful.

2. To avoid nuclear war, Christians must pressure their governments to reduce arms.

3. To induce U.S. Christians to pressure their government, there must be more trust developed between the U.S. and Soviet people.

4. To increase such trust, U.S. Christians must discover that there are millions of Christians in the Soviet Union who want peace, just like us.

5. Too much emphasis on the issue of religious repression will only reinforce negative stereotypes and make trust harder to acheive.

Unfortunately, such an argument uses the emotion of fear to reverse the logic of prudent defense. Logically, one would begin with the question, "what is the nature of the Soviet system?", and then, given the nature of that system, ask what sort of defense do we need. Instead, the NCC begins with a preconceived idea about what sort of defense we need, and then asks, "how must we modify our view of the Soviet system in order to gain acceptance for this type of defense?"

The second obvious flaw is that while U.S. Christians are free to pressure their government, Soviet Christians are not. Only as Soviet churches become more independent can they begin to do so. To help them achieve greater independence, it will be necessary for Western churches to openly protest Soviet control of religion, rather than to collaborate in its coverup. Therefore, in order for contact with Soviet Christians to serve the cause of peace, it must have as its ultimate purpose the expansion of religious freedom.

Andrei Sakharov has warned of the danger of one-sided protests that may create military imbalances that could lead to war. The Soviet's intransigence in arms negotiations is surely due, in part, to their hope for Western unilateral concessions forced by a one-sided peace movement. Even more dangerous would be a situation in which Soviet leaders felt free to initiate military action without fear of a forceful Western response. Such a situation, fostered by a vociferous peace movement urging restraint only on the West, could widen the very nuclear chasm over which church leaders claim to be building a bridge.

For all these reasons, the cause of peace is inseparable from the cause of religious freedom. Recognition of this simple fact would perhaps do more than anything else to unleash the vast creative energy of the Western religious community in mounting a campaign for religious freedom on behalf of believers in the Eastern bloc.

David Jessup
November 14, 1985

see "hearings"

RICHARD G. LUGAR, INDIANA, CHAIRMAN
JESSE HELMS, NORTH CAROLINA
CHARLES MAC MATHIAS, JR., MARYLAND
NANCY L. KASSEBAUM, KANSAS
RUDY BOSCHWITZ, MINNESOTA
LARRY PRESSLER, SOUTH DAKOTA
FRANK H. MURKOWSKI, ALASKA
PAUL S. TRIBLE, JR., VIRGINIA
DANIEL J. EVANS, WASHINGTON
CLAIBORNE PELL, RHODE ISLAND
JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DELAWARE
PAUL S. SARBANES, MARYLAND
EDWARD ZORINSKY, NEBRASKA
ALAN CRANSTON, CALIFORNIA
CHRISTOPHER J. DODD, CONNECTICUT
THOMAS F. EAGLETON, MISSOURI
JOHN F. KERRY, MASSACHUSETTS
JEFFREY T. BERGNER, STAFF DIRECTOR
GERALD S. CHRISTIANSON, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

December 9, 1985

Mr. David Jessup
Member, Board of Directors
Institute for Religion and Democracy
729 15th Street, Suite 900 NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mr. Jessup:

Thank you for you letter of November 19th, regarding the questions Senator Pressler asked you to respond to on "Religious Persecution Behind the Iron Curtain."

Would you be so kind as to answer the following question for our hearing record:

> "Is there a notable difference between strategies pursued by the U.S. government and that of other Western states in protesting religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain? If there are significant differences, which strategies and which countries seem to reap the greatest success in minimizing oppression?"

As soon as the hearing transcript has been printed I will send you a copy. Thank you again for your participation in the hearing.

Sincerely,

Carol Rae Hansen

Dr. Carol Rae Hansen
Professional Staff Member

CH:pr

Please note from the hearing transcript that I did not feel I had sufficient information to answer this question. My expertise was on non-governmental organizations

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much.

I note that you are not with the AFL–CIO at this moment, is that right, or are you?

Mr. JESSUP. No; I work for the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which is an AFL–CIO organization that deals with outreach in Latin America.

Senator PRESSLER. I see. Very good.

What exactly does that do?

Mr. JESSUP. Well, we work to sustain trade union organizations, democratic trade union organizations in the countries of Latin America, and try to provide them with some of the same things I have outlined in this paper that religious organizations ought to be supplying their counterpart institutions—direct help.

Senator PRESSLER. Very good.

Now, the Institute on Religion and Democracy, that is a separate activity?

Mr. JESSUP. Yes, completely separate. It is a private organization.

Senator PRESSLER. I thought it was worth making that distinction.

There have been greater efforts to find ways to have our political parties reach out. For example, in the Philippines, there is an effort to have some of our political parties reach out to political parties there. There is also an effort, as you describe in the labor movement, to have labor reach out to organizations in other countries. Your point is that the Institute on Religion and Democracy is an effort to reach out in a similar manner.

Mr. JESSUP. Well, the Institute on Religion and Democracy is a small organization. It is an advocacy organization. It lacks the resources to conduct the kind of campaign that I am advocating here as a strategy for bringing about religious freedom.

That will take a more institutionally based group of organizations which have the resources to carry out this kind of campaign.

Senator PRESSLER. Many have discerned a systematic pattern, notably in the Soviet Union and in Czechoslovakia, of official harassment directed against institutional religion and religious believers. The release of Father Georghe Calciu by Romania after 5 years in prison suggests that sustained pressure from abroad can be helpful.

How best can Americans assist in maintaining contact with those persecuted for religious conscience and in bringing their concerns to diplomats, journalists, and others?

Mr. JESSUP. Well, as I tried to outline in my remarks, you need a combination of both silent diplomacy and public protest. The greater the public protest, the more likely that the silent diplomacy will have some effect.

The way contact is brought about is both through official channels, and by utilizing in a very creative way several of unofficial channels, through tourism, even through the mails. A lot of church organizations do that sort of thing. It helps sustain religious communities in the Eastern bloc, even the simple gesture of sending Christmas cards to individuals. It has a big impact because it helps believers in the Soviet bloc to understand that there are people out there who know about them and care about them, and that they are not alone.

Senator PRESSLER. Is there a notable difference between strategies pursued by the U.S. Government and those of other Western states in protesting religious persecution behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. JESSUP. I just do not have the information to comment on that, Senator.

Senator PRESSLER. OK.

Our first witness today, the Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Ambassador Schifter, seemed to indicate, in his opening statement at least, that the principal thing we must do is to put these issues into the spotlight.

He was subsequently challenged by some Senators who asked for more specific action.

From your point of view, what role is there for quasi-governmental bodies, such as the Helsinki Commission, in addition to governmental action? Of course, you have suggested a role for quasi-governmental bodies or nongovernmental bodies. What other action could be taken?

Mr. JESSUP. First of all, I would agree with Mr. Schifter that it is absolutely vital that greater public attention or spotlighting, if you want to use that word, be focused on this issue, especially the aspect of religious freedom that has to do with expropriation of religious institutions to serve the purposes of the state.

In most people's minds, when they think of religious repression, they think of the more dramatic, overt examples of it, and do not frequently think of the other type. So spotlighting and public awareness are of vital importance.

I have gone into some detail, I think, about the other things that can be done: direct contacts, supplying material needs of some of the congregations, public campaigns to heighten awareness, and organizing solidarity groups, if you want to call them that.

We have begun to do that in the labor movement for our trade union colleagues abroad, and there is no reason that the same thing could not be done for religious institutions, so that you would have groups in Seattle, in Portland, or in Chicago, who are in solidarity with congregations or denominations in the Eastern bloc, and organized on that issue.

Senator PRESSLER. Good.

There are some additional questions for the record which I will submit.

I thank you very much for your excellent testimony.

Mr. JESSUP. Thank you.

Senator PRESSLER. This concludes this hearing.

I want to thank our witnesses, our staff, and the other Senators who participated, for what I think was an excellent hearing.

[Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.]

57-154 (256)